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ART. XLIII. *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D.D. F.R.S. Ed. late Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. By Dugald Stewart, F.R.S. Edinburgh.* 8vo. pp. 222. Price 5s. Creech, Edinburgh. 1803.

THE Memoirs before us preſent a picture of an uſeful and honourable, though retired and unambitious life: it was indeed, as the author informs us, "barren of incidents which furniſh materials for biography." But he ſuppoſes, not without reaſon, "that after the agitations of the political convulſions which Europe has witneſſed for a courſe of years, the ſimple record of ſuch a life may derive an intereſt even from its uniformity; and, when contraſted with the events of the paſſing ſcene, may lead the thoughts to ſome views of human nature on which it is not ungrateful to repoſe."

The work is divided into three ſections; the firſt of which gives an account of the birth and parentage of Dr. Reid, together with his life till the date of his lateſt publication: the ſecond contains obſervations on the ſcope and ſpirit of Dr. Reid's philoſophy; and the third continues the narrative to his death.

The family from which he was deſcended, we are informed, had been, for ſome generations, remarkable for a love of literature and the learned profeſſions. Several of Dr. Reid's anceſtors are mentioned as having attained a degree of literary eminence, and been diſtinguiſhed in their day as authors, although at preſent their works are but little known.

His mother's family affords a ſimilar inſtance of hereditary talents. She was, as we are informed, a daughter of David Gregory, Eſq. of Kinnairdie, in Banſhire, elder brother of James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting teleſcope, and the antagoniſt of Huyghens. One of her brothers was David Gregory, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford, and an intimate friend of Sir Iſaac Newton. Two of her younger brothers were, at the ſame time, Profeſſors of Mathematics; the one at St. Andrews, the other at Edinburgh; and were the firſt perſons who taught the Newtonian philoſophy in the Scotch univerſities.

The facts here related of the hereditary turn for literary and ſcientific purſuits by which theſe two families were diſtin-

guiſhed deſerve recording, as we believe them to be without a parallel.

Of the earlier years of Dr. Reid's life his biographer laments his inability to give any ſatisfactory information: he ſeems, like many other eminent characters, to have paſſed through the firſt part of his education without diſtinction, and without giving (to ordinary obſervers at leaſt) any preſage of the eminence to which he afterwards attained. His induſtry and modeſty, however, were conſpicuous in his childhood; and it was foretold of him by the pariſh ſchoolmaſter, that he would turn out to be a man of good and well-wearing parts; "a prediction" (ſays Mr. Stewart) "which touched not unhappily on that capacity of patient thought for which he was afterwards diſtinguiſhed."

From the pariſh ſchool at Kincardine he went, at the age of twelve or thirteen, to Mariſchal College, Aberdeen. His reſidence in the Univerſity was prolonged beyond the uſual time by the appointment to the office of librarian, which he reſigned in the year 1736, when he accompanied one of his friends* in an excurſion to England. In the year following he was preſented by the college to the living of new Machar, where he reſided until the year 1752; when he quitted his living for the profeſſorſhip of philoſophy, to which he was elected by the Profeſſors of King's College.

A ſingular inſtance is related of the mildneſs and forbearance of his temper, and its effect on the conduct of his pariſhioners during his reſidence at New Machar. The intemperate conduct of one of his predeceſſors, and a prevailing averſion to the law of patronage, had involved him, on his firſt taking poſſeſſion of his living, in very diſagreeable circumſtances: ſuch, however, was the effect of his conciliatory temper and conduct, that it completely did away every prejudice againſt him; and thoſe who, on his arrival, went ſo far as to offer him perſonal violence, followed him on his departure with bleſſings and tears.

Dr. Reid's literary life may be ſaid to have commenced in the year 1748, when he publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, an Eſſay on Quantity, occaſioned by reading a treatiſe in which ſimple and compound ratios are applied to virtue and merit. Previous to this period, his biographer ſuppoſes, that although he paſſed the greateſt part of his time at New Machar in the moſt intenſe ſtudy, yet the motive for his philoſophical reſearches was rather the ſatisfaction of his own mind,

* Mr. John Stewart, afterwards Profeſſor of Mathematics in Mariſchal College, Aberdeen, and author of a Commentary on Newton's Quadrature of Curves.

mind, than the hope of ever being able to inſtruct the world as an author: it is alſo added, that in the earlier part of his ſtudies he had neglected compoſition to a more than ordinary degree; "a curious fact," (as Mr. Stewart juſtly obſerves) "when contraſted with that eaſe and purity of ſtyle which he afterwards attained."

In the remaining part of the firſt ſection we have an account of the progreſs of Dr. Reid's opinions on the ſubjects diſcuſſed in his ſubſequent works. It appears, from his own acknowledgment, that he had at one period adopted the opinions on which Mr. Hume's ſyſtem of ſcepticiſm was raiſed; and that it was the conſequences which theſe opinions ſeemed to involve which roufed his ſuſpicions concerning their truth. It appears, alſo, that he embraced the whole of the Berkleyan ſyſtem, until, (to uſe his own words, as quoted by his biographer) "finding other conſequences to follow from it, which gave me more uneaſineſs than the want of a material world, it came into my mind to put the queſtion, What evidence have I for this doctrine, that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in my own mind? From that time to the preſent I have been candidly and impartially, as I think, ſeeking for the evidences of this principle, but can find none excepting the authority of philoſophers." The chief object of Dr. Reid's ſubſequent philoſophical enquiries was, "to record and to claſſify the phenomena which the operations of the human mind preſent to thoſe who carefully reflect on the ſubject of their conſciouſneſs." Dr. Reid's firſt work, in purſuance of this plan, was his Enquiry into the Human Mind, publiſhed in 1764. This was followed by his Eſſays on the Intellectual Powers, publiſhed in 1785, and on the Active Powers, in 1788.

The ſecond ſection, on which we ſhall now proceed to offer a few remarks, is intitled, Obſervations on the Scope and Spirit of Dr. Reid's Philoſophy, and contains an anſwer to various objections which had been urged againſt it.

The diſtinguiſhing feature of Dr. Reid's philoſophy is ſtated to be "the ſyſtematical ſteadineſs with which he has adhered, in his enquiries, to that plan of inveſtigation which is delineated in the Novum Organum, and which has been ſo happily exemplified in phyſics by Sir Iſaac Newton and his followers."

The ſplendid diſcoveries in natural philoſophy which were the reſult of an adherence to this method naturally ſuggeſted the idea of applying it to the philoſophy of the mind. From the imperfect ſtate, however, of the latter ſcience, compared with the rapid progreſs of phyſical diſcovery, it appears to labour under difficulties peculiar to itſelf; the principal of

which ſeem to be ſtated with great accuracy in the following paſſage.

"That ſo many philoſophers ſhould have thus miſſed their aim in proſecuting the ſtudy of the human mind, will appear the leſs ſurpriſing when we conſider in how many difficulties peculiar to itſelf this ſcience is involved. It is ſufficient at preſent to mention thoſe which ariſe from the metaphorical origin of all the words that expreſs the intellectual phenomena;—from the ſubtle and fugitive nature of the objects of our reaſonings; from the habits of inattention we acquire in early life to the ſubjects of our conſciouſneſs; and from the prejudices which early impreſſions and aſſociations create to warp our opinions. It muſt be remembered, too, that in the ſcience of the mind (ſo imperfectly are its logical rules yet underſtood!) we have not the ſame checks on the abuſes of our reaſoning powers, which ſerve to guard us againſt error in our other reſearches. In phyſics, a ſpeculative miſtake is abandoned when contradicted by facts which ſtrike the ſenſes. In mathematics, an abſurd or inconſiſtent concluſion is admitted as a demonſtrative proof of a faulty hypotheſis. But in thoſe enquiries which relate to the principles of human nature, the abſurdities and inconſiſtencies to which we are led by almoſt all the ſyſtems hitherto propoſed, inſtead of ſuggeſting corrections and improvements on theſe ſyſtems, have too frequently had the effect of producing ſcepticiſm with reſpect to all of them alike."

To theſe may be added the want of a general agreement on firſt principles. If even the exiſtence of a material world may be made a ſubject of doubt (as would appear from Mr. Stewart's quoting with approbation the ſaying of Mr. Turgot*, "that he who had never doubted the exiſtence of matter, might be aſſured he has no turn for metaphyſical diſquiſitions") it is difficult to ſay what we are to take for granted in our enquiries of any kind, or on any ſubject. The exiſtence of external objects of our perceptions appears, indeed, to reſt preciſely on the ſame foundation as a ny mathematical axiom. It ſeems as incapable of demonſtration, as that the whole is greater than its part, or that things which are equal to the ſame are equal to each other.

Perhaps one reaſon which made Dr. Reid and his biographer incline to think ſo favourably of the Berkleyan ſyſtem was, an extreme dread of thoſe ſyſtems which ſeemed to approach too near to materialiſm, from the apprehenſion of certain

* Notwithſtanding the approbation with which Mr. Stewart quotes this ſentiment of Mr. Turgot, we ſhall ſee, hereafter, that he mentions the exiſtence of a material world, independent of our perceptions, as one of thoſe truths which, in all our reaſonings, muſt neceſſarily be taken for granted.

certain conſequences ſuppoſed (we think falſely) to reſult from allowing of too intimate a connection between mind and matter. In the contemptuous manner which Hartley and his followers are ſpoken of in this work, wherever they are mentioned, we are at a loſs to recogniſe the enlarged and philoſophical mind of the author; and we perceive, with regret, in the paſſages alluded to, a diſpoſition little calculated to advance the cauſe of ſcience, or of liberal diſcuſſion. We cannot, indeed, help obſerving, that this affords a ſtriking inſtance of the effect of one of thoſe cauſes which Mr. Stewart has juſtly aſſigned in accounting for the ſlow progreſs and imperfect ſtate of the philoſophy of the mind; namely, the prejudices which early impreſſions and aſſociations create to warp our opinions.

The objections to Dr. Reid's philoſophy which his biographer thinks chiefly worthy of notice, are ſtated as follows:

"1. That he has aſſumed gratuitouſly, in all his reaſonings, that theory concerning the human ſoul which the ſcheme of materialiſm calls in queſtion.

"2. That his views tend to damp the ardour of philoſophical curioſity, by ſtating as ultimate facts, phenomena which may be reſolved into principles more ſimple and general.

"3. That by an unneceſſary multiplication of original or inſtinctive principles, he has brought the ſcience of mind into a ſtate more perplexed and unſatisfactory than that in which it was left by Locke and his ſucceſſors.

"4. That his philoſophy, by ſanctioning an appeal from the deciſions of the learned to the voice of the multitude, is unfavourable to the ſpirit of free enquiry, and lends additional ſtability to popular errors."

In anſwer to the firſt of theſe objections Mr. Stewart ſays,

"With reſpect to Dr. Reid's ſuppoſed aſſumption of a doubtful hypotheſis concerning the nature of the thinking and ſentient principle, it is almoſt ſufficient for me to obſerve, that the charge is directed againſt that very point of his philoſophy in which it is moſt completely invulnerable. The circumſtance which peculiarly characteriſes the inductive ſcience of mind is, that it profeſſes to abſtain from all ſpeculation concerning its nature and eſſence; confining the attention entirely to phenomena for which we have the evidence of conſciouſneſs, and to the laws by which the phenomena are regulated."

Without at all queſtioning the utility of Dr. Reid's plan, (ſince facts and obſervations muſt be the foundation of every rational hypotheſis in ſcience) we think, that an extreme prejudice againſt particular ſyſtems has biaſſed him as much as

an attachment to any fyſtem could have done. It may be true, as Mr. Stewart remarks, that an undue love of ſimplicity, and a deſire of accounting for the phenomena of the natural or moral world from one or a few cauſes, may in ſome inſtances have exerted too great an influence in the formation of ſyſtems: but we think that his friend has gone into a contrary extreme, at leaſt equally dangerous to the progreſs of ſcience. Indeed, ſince the laws of the natural world are found, as we advance in the knowledge of nature, to be fewer and more ſimple than we ſhould have expected from the various phenomena which they produce, analogy ſeems to be in favour of an equal ſimplicity in the laws of the intellectual world; and we muſt ſtrongly proteſt againſt the general condemnation paſſed in the following extract on ſome late theories of the mind, which endeavour to account for its various phenomena by referring them to a few ſimple principles.

"After all, I do not apprehend that the phyſiological theories concerning the mind, which have made ſo much noiſe of late, will produce a very laſting impreſſion. The ſplendour of Dr. Darwin's accompliſhments could not fail to beſtow a temporary importance on whatever opinions were ſanctioned by his name; as the chemical diſcoveries which have immortalized that of Prieſtley, have, for a while, recalled from oblivion the reveries of Hartley. But abſtracting from theſe accidental inſtances, in which human reaſon ſeems to have held a retrograde courſe, there has certainly been, ſince the time of Deſcartes, a continual, and, on the whole, a very remarkable approach to the inductive plan of ſtudying human nature. We may trace this in the writings of *thoſe who profeſs to conſider thought merely as an agitation of the brain*: in the writings more particularly of Hume and Helvetius. The authors who form the moſt conſpicuous exception to this gradual progreſs conſiſt chiefly of men whoſe errors are eaſily accounted for by the prejudices connected with their circumſcribed habits of obſervation and enquiry; of phyſiologiſts, accuſtomed to attend to that part alone of the human frame which the knife of the anatomiſt can lay open; or of chemiſts, who enter on the analyſis of thought, freſh from the decompoſitions of the laboratory; carrying into the theory of mind itſelf," (what Bacon expreſsly calls) "the ſmoke and tarniſh of the furnace."

The paſſage marked in Italics probably refers to the doctrine of vibrations, as it appears in Hartley; but it ſhould have been recollected, that although he conſiders it as ſupported by ſtrong analogies, and as explaining many phenomena of the mind and body, he is careful not to make it eſſential to his ſyſtem, which reſts on the aſſociation of ideas; indeed, in Prieſtley's edition of Hartley it is entirely omitted. After all, we think the general ſentence paſſed by our author

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on all *phyſiological* theories of the mind, as ſuch, much too ſevere: whatever may be the nature of the thinking principle, we know that it has an intimate connection with matter; and we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that this connection will ceaſe to exiſt in a future ſtate; we can ſee no abſurdity, therefore, in ſuppoſing the intervention of matter to be neceſſary, in ſome way or other, to the operations of mind: nor do we perceive the neceſſity of conſidering them as totally diſtinct and unconnected with each other. In his anſwer to the ſecond objection urged againſt his friend's philoſophy, Mr. Stewart ſays,

"To allege that in this circumſcription of the field of our enquiries concerning the mind, there is any tendency to repreſs a reaſonable and philoſophical curioſity, is a charge no leſs unfounded than the former; inaſmuch as every phyſical enquiry concerning the material world is circumſcribed by limits preciſely analogous. In all our inveſtigations, whatever their ſubject may be, the buſineſs of philoſophy is confined to a reference of particular facts to other facts more general; and our moſt ſucceſsful reſearches muſt at length terminate in ſome law of nature of which no explanation can be given. In its application to Dr. Reid's writings, this objection has, I think, been more pointedly directed againſt his reaſonings concerning the proceſs of nature in perception: a part of his writings which (as it is of fundamental importance in his general ſyſtem) he has laboured with peculiar care. The reſult is, indeed, by no means flattering to the pride of thoſe theoriſts who profeſs to explain every thing; for it amounts to an acknowledgment, that, after all the lights which anatomy and phyſiology ſupply, the information we obtain, by means of our ſenſes, concerning the exiſtence and the qualities of matter, is no leſs incomprehenſible to our faculties, than it appears to the moſt illiterate peaſant, and that all we have gained is, a more preciſe and complete acquaintance with ſome particulars in our animal economy;—highly intereſting, indeed, when regarded in their proper light, as acceſſions to our phyſical knowledge; but, conſidered in connection with the philoſophy of the mind, affording only a more accurate ſtatement of the aſtoniſhing phenomena which we would vainly endeavour to explain."

Our readers will hardly think this paſſage a ſatisfactory anſwer to the objection it was deſigned to combat. It can not be made a queſtion whether there are, in our reſearches of any kind, ultimate facts and cauſes beyond which it is vain to purſue our inquiries; the only queſtion can be whether we have really arrived at thoſe limits. Thus Newton was juſtified in ſtating gravitation as one of thoſe cauſes for which no other *ſecondary* or *mechanical* cauſe need be aſſigned; had he, however, ſuppoſed the planetary motions to be themſelves ultimate facts for which no reaſons could be given, a founder philoſophy

would have urged againſt him the ſame objection that has been brought againſt Dr. Reid; and might fairly ſtate, that ſuch premature concluſions would tend, as far as they had any influence, to damp the ardour of philoſophical curioſity, and retard the progreſs of ſcience.

The third objection, that Dr. Reid has unneceſſarily multiplied the number of original inſtincts, is connected with, and naturally ariſes from the former. This charge Mr. Stewart does not altogether deny; but endeavours to juſtify his friend, by ſaying, that "a certain degree of leaning to that extreme to which Dr. Reid inclined, was, at the time when he wrote, much ſafer than the oppoſite bias." Without detaining our readers with any remarks on an opinion delivered in ſuch general terms, we ſhall proceed to notice a particular inſtance in which we think the author has failed in attempting to vindicate his friend from the charge of multiplying unneceſſarily the number of original inſtincts; it is where he ſpeaks of the principle of credulity. After complaining of the ſeverity with which Dr. Prieſtley had animadverted on Dr. Reid's opinions on the ſubject, he proceeds thus:

"The paſſage quoted by Dr. Prieſtley in juſtification of this very peremptory deciſion, is as follows: 'If credulity were the effect of reaſoning and experience, it muſt grow up and gather ſtrength, as reaſon and experience do. But if it is the gift of Nature, it will be ſtrongeſt in childhood, and limited and reſtrained by experience; and the moſt ſuperficial view of human life ſhews that this laſt is the caſe, and not the firſt.' To my own judgment, this argument of Dr. Reid's, when connected with the excellent illuſtrations which accompany it, carries complete conviction, and I am confirmed in my opinion, by finding that Mr. Smith (a writer inferior to none in acuteneſs and ſtrongly diſpoſed by the peculiar bent of his genius, to ſimplify, as far as poſſible, the philoſophy of human nature), has in the lateſt edition of his Theory of Moral Sentiments acquieſced in this very concluſion; urging in ſupport of it the ſame reaſoning which Dr. Prieſtley affects to eſtimate ſo lightly. 'There ſeems to be in young children an inſtinctive diſpoſition to believe whatever they are told. Nature ſeems to have judged it neceſſary for their preſervation that they ſhould, for ſome time at leaſt, put implicit confidence in thoſe to whom the care of their childhood, and of the earlieſt and moſt neceſſary part of their education, is intruſted. Their credulity accordingly is exceſſive, and it requires long and much experience of the falſehood of mankind to reduce them to a reaſonable degree of diffidence and diſtruſt."

Notwithſtanding the great authorities quoted in the paſſage we have juſt been extracting, we muſt confeſs that we ſee not the ſlighteſt neceſſity, in this caſe, for having recourſe to an original inſtinct implanted by nature at our birth, and antecedent

dent to experience and obſervation. We ſee, indeed, nothing in the preſent inſtance but what may be eaſily accounted for on the known principle of the aſſociation of ideas; the connection between words, and the things they ſignify, is formed in the mind of children as ſoon as they begin to learn to ſpeak: and we know, that even in adults, vivid ideas are attended by belief, wherever their impreſſion is not counteracted by the evidence of the ſenſes, or the deductions of reaſon: as this muſt generally be the caſe with children; as they can yet have had little or no experience of any diſagreement between facts, and the words in which they are ſtated, it is no wonder if their tendency to belief ſhould be peculiarly ſtrong at that age; and if ideas of real exiſtence ſhould be ſo firmly aſſociated with whatever they hear from thoſe about them, as with great difficulty to be ſeparated.

Another reaſon for doubting the exiſtence of an innate original inſtinct of belief is, that in this caſe, unlike every other faculty, it muſt have been completely formed long before it can be of any uſe; it muſt have lain dormant in a completely formed ſtate for the three firſt years of our life, ſince it cannot ſhow itſelf in a child until he underſtands the meaning of words; that is, until he is capable of forming combinations of ideas, and of ſome exertions of memory. In ſhort, the arguments which have been uſed againſt the old doctrine of the exiſtence of innate ideas, will hold equally good in the preſent caſe. With regard to the objection, that if the principle of belief be not innate, it ought to be ſtronger in adults than in children, it ſeems to be ſufficiently anſwered by the laſt ſentence of the quotation from Dr. Smith: perhaps, indeed, this would be the caſe, if we could ſuppoſe a human being to arrive at mature age without any knowledge or experience of the exiſtence of deceit; and it ſeems equally probable that a child who had been often deceived would ſhow very little more credulity than an adult. The paſſage quoted by Dr. Smith ſeems by no means deciſive of his opinion in favour of an original inſtinct: he appears to us merely to ſtate as a fact, the extreme credulity of children, which he ſays *ſeems* inſtinctive; but it does not appear to have been a part of his plan to trace it to its original cauſe.

We have been more particular in our remarks on this ſubject, as the doctrine which attributes ſo much of the character and conduct of rational agents to original inſtincts, ſeems to be fraught with bad conſequences of a practical nature. The opinion, that the human character is formed entirely by the circumſtances in which a human being is placed, may perhaps, by ſome of its advocates, have been carried too far; but it ſtimulates

mulates exertion; it tends to call forth all our efforts, in the formation of our own characters, and of thoſe of others whom we can influence: from a conſciouſneſs that thoſe efforts if not fully ſucceſsful, muſt at leaſt produce ſome effect; while the contrary opinion, if carried to any great exceſs, can only generate indolence and deſpair.

We agree, however, with our author in thinking that the eagerneſs to generaliſe and ſimplify has led ſome late philoſophers to concluſions, which, in the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, muſt be looked upon as at leaſt premature; for inſtance, when it has led them to reject, as unphiloſophical, the term inſtinct, and to aſcribe to experience and imitation, either in man, or brute, every thing which has hitherto been referred to this myſterious ſource. We think that in his criticiſms on a late popular work (Darwin's Zoonomia), he has been ſucceſsful in pointing out ſeveral inſtances of this fault.

On the ſubject of the laſt enumerated objection againſt Dr. Reid's philoſophy, "that by ſanctioning an appeal from the deciſions of the learned to the voice of the multitude, it is unfavourable to free inquiry, and lends ſtability to popular errors," we ſhall be brief in our remarks. Mr. Stewart ſeems to think that it ariſes from a miſtake of the meaning of the term common ſenſe, as uſed by Dr. Reid in his inquiry; and he thinks that Dr. Prieſtley has granted as much in favour of Dr. R.'s doctrine on this ſubject as is worth contending for, when he acknowledges that there are ſelf-evident truths, which in all our reaſonings muſt be taken for granted; and that the only thing he ſeems to diſpute is, whether thoſe truths, ſhall be denominated principles of common ſenſe, or be diſtinguiſhed by ſome other appellation. Mr. Stuart thinks that fundamental laws of belief would be a more unexceptionable term; and of theſe laws he gives the following propoſitions as inſtances:

"I am the ſame perſon to-day that I was yeſterday; the material world has an exiſtence independent of that of percipient beings; there are other intelligent beings in the univerſe beſides myſelf; the future courſe of nature will reſemble the paſt." Such truths no man but a philoſopher ever thinks of ſtating to himſelf in words; as all our conduct and all our reaſonings proceed on the ſuppoſition that they are admitted. The belief of them is eſſential for the preſervation of our animal exiſtence; and it is accordingly coeval with the firſt operations of the intellect.

The term common ſenſe, Mr. Stewart allows, has been ſometimes uſed by different authors (and among others by Dr. Reid) without a ſufficient degree of preciſion. When limited in its ſignification to that power of the mind by which it aſſents to an intuitive

intuitive truth, it conveys a definite and unambiguous meaning; but unluckily, like moſt other terms in common uſe, it bears a conſiderable latitude of ſignification: when ſuch a term, therefore, is uſed in philoſophical inquiries, Mr. S. juſtly remarks, that "it has the effect of miſleading thoſe who do enter deeply into the ſubject; and of giving a paradoxical appearance to doctrines, which, if expreſſed in more unexceptionable terms, would be readily admitted.

"It appears to me," he adds, "that this has actually happened in the preſent inſtance. The phraſe, *common ſenſe*, as it is generally underſtood, is nearly ſynonymous with mother-wit; denoting that degree of ſagacity (depending partly on original capacity, and partly on perſonal experience and obſervation), which qualifies an individual for thoſe ſimple and eſſential occupations which all men are called on to exerciſe habitually by their common nature. In this acceptation, it is oppoſed to thoſe mental acquirements which are derived from a regular education, and from the ſtudy of books; and refers, not to the ſpeculative convictions of the underſtanding, but to that prudence and diſcretion which are the foundation of ſucceſsful conduct. Such is the idea which Pope annexes to the words when ſpeaking of good ſenſe, (which means only a more than ordinary degree of common ſenſe) he calls it

"——————— the gift of heaven.
And, tho' no ſcience, fairly worth the ſeven."

"To ſpeak, accordingly, of appealing from the concluſions of philoſophy to common ſenſe, had the appearance, to title-page readers, of appealing from the verdict of the learned to the voice of the multitude; or of attempting to ſilence free diſcuſſion, by a reference to ſome arbitrary and undefinable ſtandard, diſtinct from any of the intellectual powers hitherto enumerated by logicians. Whatever countenance may be ſuppoſed to have been given by ſome writers to ſuch an interpretation of this doctrine, I may venture to aſſert, that none is afforded by the works of Dr. Reid. The ſtandard to which he appeals, is neither the creed of a particular ſect, nor the inward light of enthuſiaſtic preſumption; but that conſtitution of human nature without which all the buſineſs of the world would immediately ceaſe; and the ſubſtance of his argument amounts merely to this, that thoſe eſſential laws of belief to which ſceptics have objected, when conſidered in connection with our ſcientific reaſonings, are implied in every ſtep we take as active beings; and if called in queſtion by any man in his practical concerns, would expoſe him univerſally to the charge of infanity."

We here take our leave of the ſubject of Dr. Reid's philoſophy, and proceed to notice the third ſection of the work, which continues the narrative from the date of his laſt publication to his death. His career as an author cloſed with the publication of his eſſays on the active powers, in 1788, when he had reached the advanced age of 78. At this period, when the powers

powers of the moſt vigorous minds uſually begin to fail, his ſeem to have loſt little of their original activity, he recurred with ardour to the purſuits and ſtudies of his earlier years; among which his biographer reckons mathematics (particularly thoſe parts which required mathematical calculations, in which he had acquired great facility), and the peruſal of the Greek tragedians. The following remark on the ſubject of Dr. Reid's recurrence to the ſtudies of his youth is intereſting, and ſeems founded on reaſon.

"His (Dr. Reid's), attention was always fixed on the ſtate of his intellectual faculties; and for counteracting the effects of time on theſe, mathematical ſtudies ſeem to be fitted in a peculiar degree. They are fortunately too, within the reach of many individuals, after a decay of memory diſqualifies them for inquiries which involve a multiplicity of details. Such detached problems, more eſpecially, as Dr. Reid commonly ſelected for his conſideration; problems where all the data are brought at once under the eye, and where a connected train of thinking is not to be carried on from day to day, will be found (as I have witneſſed with pleaſure in ſeveral inſtances), by thoſe who are capable of ſuch a recreation, a valuable addition to the ſcanty reſources of a life protracted beyond the ordinary limit."

At the advanced period of life to which Dr. Reid had now attained, very few minds are capable either of producing or admitting new ideas: to this general truth he was a remarkable exception; for we are told that the modern improvements in chemiſtry attracted his particular notice, and that he applied himſelf with his wonted diligence and ſucceſs to the ſtudy of its new doctrines, and new nomenclature. He alſo amuſed himſelf with compoſing eſſays on different ſubjects that intereſted his curioſity, for a philoſophical ſociety of which he was a member.

On the whole, the account of Dr. Reid's purſuits at this period affords an inſtance of an old age almoſt unattended by the uſual infirmities, mental or corporeal, of declining years. This happy exemption was the natural reſult of that calmneſs of mind, and thoſe habits of temperance and activity by which his youth and manhood were diſtinguiſhed.

His domeſtic happineſs, however, ſuſtained a very ſevere wound, in the death of his wife, to whom he had been married 52 years: he had alſo the misfortune of ſurviving a numerous family, with the exception of one daughter, Mrs. Carmichael, who is ſtill alive.

Four years after the firſt mentioned event, this honourable and uſeful life was brought to a cloſe, after repeated ſtrokes of the palſy, in its eighty-ſeventh year.

An

An excellent character of Dr. Reid is affixed to the account of his life: as it is too long for inſertion, and would be injured by partial extracts; we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to the work, and with remarking that it is drawn up in a manner equally creditable to the feelings and the talents of Mr. Stewart, who, as we learn with regret from the concluding paragraph of the work, has now finally cloſed his attempts as a Biographer.

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ART. XLIV. *The True Churchmen aſcertained: or, An Apology for thoſe of the Regular Clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church who are ſometimes called Evangelical Miniſters: occaſioned by ſeveral Modern Publications. By John Overton, A. B.* 8vo. pp. 422. Price 8s. Mawman, and Rivingtons, London. 1801.

ART. XLV. *The Church of England vindicated from Miſrepreſentation; ſhewing her genuine Doctrines, as contained in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies. With a particular Reference to the Elements of Chriſtian Theology, by the Biſhop of Lincoln. By a Preſbyter of the Church of England.* 8vo. pp. 162. Price 4s. Mawman. 1801.

ART. XLVI. *The Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calviniſtic. By Thomas Kipling, D.D. Dean of Peterborough, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.* Large 8vo. pp. 94. Price 2s. 6d. Mawman, and Hurſt, London. 1802.

ART. XLVII. *Remarks on a Pamphlet, by Thomas Kipling, D. D. Dean of Peterborough, intitled, "The Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calviniſtic." By Academicus.* 8vo. pp. 32. Price 1s. Deighton, Cambridge; and Hatchard, London. 1802.

ART. XLVIII. *Remarks on the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith; in a Letter to the Rev. John Overton, A. B. Author of a Work intitled, "The True Churchmen aſcertained." By Edward Pearſon, B. D. Rector of Rempſtone, Nottinghamſhire.* 8vo. pp. 38. Price 1s. 6d. Hatchard. 1802.

ART. XLIX. *Remarks on the Controverſy ſubſiſting, or ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt, between the Arminian and Calviniſtic Miniſters of the Church of England; in a Second Letter to the Rev. John Overton, A. B. Author of "The True Churchmen aſcertained." By Edward Pearſon, B. D. Rector of Rempſtone, Nottinghamſhire.* 8vo. pp. 102. Price 2s. 6d. Hatchard. 1802.

ART. L. *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ: in which ſome of the falſe Reaſonings, incorrect Statements, and palpable Miſrepreſentations,*

*tions, in a Publication, intitled "The True Churchmen aſcertained, by John Overton, A. B." are pointed out. By the Rev. Charles Daubeny, Fellow of Wincheſter College, Miniſter of Chriſt's-Church, Bath, and Author of "A Guide to the Church."* 8vo. pp. 471. Price 8s. Rivingtons. 1803.

ART. LI. *A Reply to Academicus; in a Letter addreſſed to the Rev. Mr. Michell, M. A. Fellow of King's College in Cambridge. By a Friend of the Rev. Dr. Kipling, Dean of Peterborough.* 8vo. pp. 77. Hurſt, London; and Deighton, Cambridge. 1803. *

IN the preſent day the productions of the Preſs are ſo numerous, that it is not uncommon to hear the conductors of reviews complaining that their duties increaſe beyond the power of performing them. It may therefore be thought, that by undertaking to give an account of works which were publiſhed before our Review began we are guilty of a two-fold impropriety; while we neglect the publications which are daily making their appearance, we are beſtowing our attention on thoſe with which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, we have no concern. The objection has certainly ſomething plauſible. But our readers will remember that our original plan expreſsly reſerves for us the liberty of calling their attention to any work appearing to deſerve it, which has been publiſhed ſince the commencement of the century; and the controverſy which has lately been carried on between the Calviniſtic and Anti-Calviniſtic clergy of our church is ſo extremely important, that a view of it, we think, muſt be generally acceptable. We have therefore grouped together the principal publications relating to this controverſy, of which we ſhall endeavour to exhibit a ſhort, but comprehenſive ſketch.

It is, unfortunately, notorious that no diſputes in the Chriſtian church have given riſe to ſuch animoſity and violence, as thoſe which embrace the difficult queſtions reſpecting Predeſtination and the Decrees of God. Theſe diſputes were not originally derived from Scripture, in which all uſeleſs, as well as frivolous, topics of ſpeculation are ſtudiouſly avoided; and in

* We have already noticed, in a curſory manner, ſome other tracts relating to this important controverſy. (ſee our firſt volume, pp. 316, 450, 477, 631.) As, however, we intend to enter deeply into the ſubject in the preſent article, we ſhall take the liberty again to call the attention of our readers to theſe works, if it ſhould ſeem to be, in any degree, neceſſary.

in which there is no theory whatſoever independent of, or at all equivalent to, practice. There is in Scripture, indeed, on the fathomleſs ſubject of predeſtination, no ſuch thing as a theory. The expreſſions relating to the divine decrees, as well as to divine and human agency, are all natural and practical; on different occaſions apparently different, but uniformly intended either to excite ſome pious ſentiment, or to ſtimulate to the performance of ſome weighty duty.

The firſt Chriſtian writers very wiſely and prudently adopted the example which was ſet them in Scripture. Accordingly, in them nothing is to be found like a ſettled and ſyſtematic ſcheme of predeſtination. But, in proceſs of time, as the Chriſtian fathers became addicted to the ſtudy of Greek philoſophy, they plunged into its moſt ſubtile diſquiſitions on the ſubjects of Neceſſity and Fate. When once they were entangled in ſuch ſubtleties, a theory was indiſpenſable. But although ſome obſcure ſteps towards ſuch a theory may perhaps be traced in the more ancient fathers, Auguſtine, biſhop of Hippo, was the firſt who reduced the doctrine of predeſtination to a ſettled and conſiſtent ſcheme. In oppoſing the dangerous hereſy of Pelagius, who maintained that the powers of human nature were not impaired by the Fall, and, of conſequence, denied the neceſſity of grace, Auguſtine went over to the other extreme; contending, that fallen man is ſo degraded, that he has neither inclination nor power to proceed a ſingle ſtep in the way to ſalvation; that every thing good in him is the effect of grace, which operates gratuitouſly and irreſiſtibly. But it does not ſo operate indifferently in all. There is a certain number of the human race *predeſtinated*, or *elected*, to eternal life, on whom this grace is beſtowed, and who cannot, therefore, fail of ſalvation. All the reſt of mankind are *reprobated*, or conſigned to everlaſting miſery, which it is wholly impoſſible for them to eſcape. From theſe miſerable wretches the neceſſary degree of grace is withheld; and, of conſequence, they muſt inevitably periſh. All this is founded in the abſolute, immutable, decree of God, who, from, all eternity determined who ſhould be ſaved and who ſhould be damned. And this decree is entirely derived from his own good pleaſure, or ſovereign free will, without any regard to the characters of thoſe whoſe everlaſting deſtiny it decides.

The doctrines of Auguſtine never became popular in the Greek church; but in the Latin church they were very generally adopted. The Franciſcans and Dominicans took different ſides and diſputed warmly, as the Jeſuiſts and Janſeniſts did in later times. At the Reformation, the great oppoſition was to the Popiſh doctrine of the Merit of Good Works; and this

this caused much stress to be laid on every part of *Divine* agency. Wickliffe, in England, was a predestinarian, if he was not a philosophical fatalist, which seems not improbable. Zuinglius and Luther both followed Augustine, though Luther afterwards became more moderate. Melancthon, the most mild of men, and by far the most amiable of the foreign reformers, wished to leave these knotty points undetermined, or, at least, not to decide dogmatically with regard to them. But of all the reformers, if we except perhaps Beza, the person who most strenuously maintained the opinions of Augustine was Calvin. This man was of an ardent and impetuous temper, impatient of control, and overbearing in dispute. His character rendered him incapable of embracing any notion with lukewarmness or indecision; and his imperious spirit could brook no contradiction. With talents of no mean consideration, and with a stock of learning respectable for his age, he applied his whole powers to the favourite object of establishing the tenets of Augustine on Predestination and Grace, in one uniform, well digested system. He carried, it is true, all the notions of that father to their utmost extent, and openly maintained many impious or absurd conclusions, at which Augustine would have shuddered. But he seems not to have been greatly frightened by consequences. There is very good reason, we think, to believe that with his zeal for religion there was intermixed a great share of that ambition which is frequently found in men who are conscious of superior endowments. He aimed at the glory of acquiring dominion over the minds of men; and it must be confessed that, if such was his view, few individuals have succeeded better. During his life-time his authority was great; and, after his death, it became still greater. The system of theology which he maintained, and of which, if he was not the founder, he was certainly the principal architect, has been widely disseminated, and still preserves his memory by its very name of CALVINISM.

In the reformed church of England no disputes worth mentioning took place about Calvinism till towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Our first reformers were men whose characters can hardly, we think, be rated too high. Their piety has never been impeached; and their prudence appears to have been equal to their piety. In the Scriptures and the writings of the primitive fathers they were eminently learned; and it cannot be supposed that they were unacquainted with those important controversies which agitated the church during their own time. The fiery spirit of Calvin, in particular, had set the continent in a blaze. But, with admirable sobriety and moderation, they guarded against the danger

danger of being caught in the vortex. Whatever differences of opinion on the ſubjects in debate may have exiſted among them as individuals, theſe they wiſely ſacrificed to unanimity and peace: and, in drawing up our public ſtandards of faith, took only Scripture and antiquity for their guides. But about the year 1595, the rigid tenets of Calvin found many advocates among the clergy of our church, and began to make a great noiſe. In the univerſity of Cambridge diſputes ran high, in which Whitaker and Baroe, the Regius and Margaret profeſſors of divinity, both very able and learned men, bore the principal part. The cauſe of Calviniſm, however, prevailed in that univerſity; and, by the influence of Whitaker and his abettors, was drawn up that famous ſummary of doctrine which obtained the appellation of "The Lambeth Articles," from the place where the perſons who compiled it aſſembled. At that time Calviniſm was openly profeſſed by Hutton, archbiſhop of York, who wrote a treatiſe on the ſubject. The primate, Whitgift, was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be partial to it: and through their intereſt Whitaker and his party hoped to be able to obtain its eſtabliſhment, as the publicly authorized creed of the church. But the queen, with great good ſenſe and wiſdom, would ſuffer no innovation, and ordered the Lambeth Articles to be ſuppreſſed. As this was the firſt attempt to render Calviniſm triumphant in the Engliſh church, and as the Lambeth Articles contain a conciſe and fair ſtatement of that code of doctrine, we ſhall here tranſcribe them; they were originally in Latin, but the following is an accurate tranſlation of them, from a "*Review of the Doctrines of the Reformers*, by Thomas Bowman, M.A. Vicar of Marſham, Norfolk," printed at Norwich in 1768.

"1. God from eternity hath predeſtinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.

2. The moving or efficient cauſe of predeſtination unto life is not the foreſight of faith, or of perſeverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the perſon predeſtinated, but only the good will and pleaſure of God.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predeſtinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminiſhed.

4. Thoſe who are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall be neceſſarily damned for their ſins.

5. A true, living, and juſtifying faith, and the Spirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, falleth not away, it vaniſheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, ſuch an one who is endued with a juſtifying faith, is certain, with the full aſſurance of faith, of the remiſſion of his ſins, and of his everlaſting ſalvation by Chriſt.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be ſaved if they will.

8. No man can come unto Chriſt unleſs it ſhall be given unto him, and unleſs the Father ſhall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be ſaved."

"It appears to me," ſays that able and ſound divine, Mr. Pearſon, after copying theſe articles, "that this expoſition of what Calviniſm really is, muſt, in the mind of every one who is able either to read the *Scriptures*, or to diſcover any thing of the character of the Supreme Being from the contemplation of his *works*, be a ſufficient refutation of it, and that no arguments need be employed for that purpoſe."—(Second Letter to Overton, p. 54.) It were indeed an eaſy taſk to ſhew that every one of theſe articles is a libel upon the ſacred writings, with which it is pretended that they agree, and upon the moral attributes of God, whoſe character and diſpenſations they ſo unworthily repreſent. But this is not our preſent object. We go on to obſerve, that, to obtain the ratification of theſe articles, the Calviniſts exerted their utmoſt efforts at the Hampton-Court Conference in 1603; but they were again diſappointed. By the management, however, of Archbiſhop Uſher, when Provoſt of Trinity College, Dublin, who was a Calviniſt of the higheſt ſtamp, though he afterwards recanted, the Lambeth Articles were, in the reign of James I., incorporated with the articles of the church of Ireland. During this king's reign, as is known to all, was convened, in 1618, the famous ſynod of Dort, to determine the diſputes between the Arminians and Gomariſts, on the ſubjects of Grace and the Divine Decrees. To this ſynod King James ſent four Britiſh divines, who ſupported the doctrine of Univerſal Redemption; a doctrine which ſubverts the ſyſtem of Calvin from its very foundations. But the moderate party in the ſynod being, more from political than religious principles, oppoſed by the whole influence of Maurice, Prince of Orange, were greatly outvoted; and the Arminian doctrines were definitively condemned. It may here be worth our while to inſert the five celebrated *Articles*, or *Points*, as they were called, which were originally maintained by Van Armin and his followers, that our readers may have an opportunity of comparing them with the Articles of Lambeth. "They held," ſays Moſheim,

"1. That God, from all eternity, determined to beſtow ſalvation on thoſe who he foreſaw would perſevere in their faith in Chriſt Jeſus; and to inflict everlaſting puniſhment on thoſe who ſhould continue in their unbelief, and reſiſt, unto the end, his divine ſuccours.

2. That Jeſus Chriſt, by his death and ſufferings, made an atonement for the ſins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in

in particular: that, however, none but thoſe who believe in him can be partakers of their divine benefit.

3. That true faith cannot proceed from the exerciſe of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of free-will; ſince man, in conſequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing; and that, therefore, it is neceſſary to his converſion and ſalvation that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, which is the gift of God through Jeſus Chriſt.

4. That this *divine grace*, or energy of the Holy Ghoſt, which heals the diſorder of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection, every thing that can be called *good* in man; and that, conſequently, all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone, and to the operation of his grace; that, nevertheleſs, this grace does not *force* the man to act againſt his inclination, but may be *reſiſted* and rendered *ineffectual* by the perverſe will of the impenitent ſinner.

5. That they who are united to Chriſt by faith are thereby furniſhed with abundant ſtrength, and with ſuccours ſufficient to enable them to triumph over the ſeduction of Satan and the allurements of ſin and temptation; but that the queſtion, *Whether ſuch may fall from their faith, and forfeit finally this ſtate of grace?* has not been yet reſolved with ſufficient perſpicuity, and muſt therefore be yet more carefully examined by an attentive ſtudy of what the Holy Scriptures have declared in relation to this important point."

The Arminians afterwards changed this laſt article, and expreſsly held that *the ſaints might fall from a ſtate of grace.* With regard to the whole of them, we ſhall again quote the opinion of the learned Mr. Pearſon, with which our own moſt completely coincides, and which muſt meet, we think, with the hearty approbation of every perſon thoroughly converſant with Scripture, who is poſſeſſed of a ſenſible and benevolent mind. "When I read theſe articles," he ſays, "I conſider it as little leſs than a libel on the Goſpel to diſtinguiſh thoſe by the appellation of *evangelical* who, in oppoſition to ſuch generous ſentiments, repreſent the gift of eternal life as circumſcribed by *abſolute decrees* and the *withholding of neceſſary grace;* and who, by their mode of defending theſe and the like doctrines, ſeem to take delight in ſhutting the gates of mercy on mankind."—(Second Letter, pp. 13, 14.) They who wiſh to enter into a minute examination of the merit of theſe articles, will find it well appreciated, and the ſubject fully diſcuſſed, in Heylin's "Hiſtoria Quinquarticularis;" Tucker's "Letter to Kippis;" Winchester's Tract on our 17th Article; the firſt volume of Daubeny's "Appendix to his Guide to the Church;" and, above all, in Whitby's "Diſcourſes on the Five Points." Of this laſt-mentioned author, Jortin, whoſe

judgment is of very great weight, affirms that "in his treatiſes on Election, Reprobation, and Original Sin, he confuted Calviniſm even to a demonſtration." "In England," ſays the ſame judicious author, "at the time of the ſynod of Dort, we alſo were much divided in our opinions concerning *the controverted articles;* but our divines having taken the liberty to think and judge for themſelves, and the civil government not interpoſing, it hath come to paſs, that, from that time to this, almoſt all perſons here of any note for learning and abilities have bid adieu to Calviniſm, have ſided with the Remonſtrants, and have left the fataliſts to follow their own opinions, and to rejoice (ſince they can rejoice) in a religious ſyſtem, conſiſting of *human creatures without liberty, doctrines without ſenſe, faith without reaſon, and a God without mercy.*"—(Diſſert. ii.)

This we think the moſt admirable and accurate deſcription which was ever given of Calvin's theology. With Jortin agrees the excellent Dr. Balguy, who calls Calvin's ſyſtem "*nonſenſe,*" and his religion "a religion which ſeems to have reſted on this execrable foundation, that God is a tyrant. "Why elſe," he aſks, "did its teachers *delight* to repreſent him as governing by *will* only, not by *wiſdom?*" But the *truth* of this ſyſtem is not the point which Mr. Overton's publication has brought into controverſy. The queſtion at iſſue between him and his opponents is ſimply this: *Is Calviniſm the doctrine of the church of England?* He ſtates it himſelf in the following terms: "WHOSE DOCTRINES ARE REALLY THOSE OF OUR ARTICLES, HOMILIES, AND LITURGY? WHO IN REALITY TEACH THE DOCTRINES CONTAINED IN THESE FORMULARIES, AS THEY WERE FIRST DELIVERED BY OUR REFORMERS?"—(p. 17.) And the whole object of his tedious publication is to ſhew, that thoſe "evangelical miniſters" alone, whoſe tenets are Calviniſtic, teach agreeably to the ſtandards of the Engliſh church. Accordingly, in his Recapitulatory Chapter, he thus pronounces between his clients and their antagoniſts: "Let it be ſaid whether the concluſion is not eſtabliſhed, on grounds equal to demonſtration, that WE DO and that THEY DO NOT *teach according to the plain, primitive, and genuine doctrines of our Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies. We* then are the TRUE CHURCHMEN; and, whatever aſtoniſhment certain critics may expreſs at the affirmation, Mr. Daubeny and his aſſociates are DISSENTERS from the church of England."—(p. 397.)

This arrogant and preſumptuous claim will doubtleſs aſtoniſh many of our readers, who cannot be ignorant how novel it is, and

and whom we hope to convince in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that it is utterly without foundation. Mr. Overton, however, poſſeſſes a very large ſhare of that art which is generally diſcoverable in thoſe who call themſelves "evangelical miniſters." He has found out a term hitherto unknown, and wiſhes to be thought the advocate only of what he is pleaſed to denominate MODERATE CALVINISM. His language on this ſubject deſerves to be quoted, and attentively conſidered.

"Nothing, however, is farther from our purpoſe than to infer that the preciſe theological ſyſtem of John Calvin, in *all its parts*, and to *its full extent*, was intended to be eſtabliſhed in the Thirty-nine Articles, to the excluſion of every milder ſentiment. We think [that] they have equally failed who have attempted to ſhow this, whether the exaltation or degradation of the national confeſſion has been their object. To ſay the leaſt, our eſtabliſhed forms do not *teach directly* ſeveral doctrines which are contained in Calvin's Inſtitutions. They do not, with this work, affirm that the *fall of Adam* was the effect of a *divine decree:* they do not uſe the language [which] it does reſpecting the *extent of Chriſt's redemption:* they are ſilent concerning *abſolute reprobation*, which is here taught expreſsly. The authors of theſe forms unqueſtionably built upon *the ſame foundation* with this celebrated reformer, but they have not carried *the ſuperſtructure to the ſame height.* They wiſhed unequivocally to teach that *man's ſalvation is wholly of grace*, but that his *perdition is of himſelf;* and neither to make *God the author of ſin*, nor *man a mere machine*, and unfit to be treated as a *moral agent.* And, whatever may be ſaid to the contrary, this is not in the ſmalleſt degree belying the principles [which] we have aſcribed to them, and mutilating the ſubject, but diſcovering at once the greateſt piety, and the greateſt wiſdom upon it."

"Is it ſaid," continues Mr. Overton, "that in reality there is no difference between this ſyſtem and the higheſt ſpecies of Calviniſm? It may be anſwered, however that be, the church is only reſponſible [reſponſible only] for the doctrines [which] ſhe *teaches expreſsly*, and not for the *inferences and conſequences* which may be deduced from theſe doctrines by thoſe who perhaps do not underſtand them, and which ſhe may probably diſavow. But ſo far ſhe has certainly decided. The doctrines now often termed *Moderate Calviniſm* ſhe unequivocally inculcates. When, therefore, certain writers have formed a frightful ſyſtem of nothing but abſolute decrees, abſolute reprobation, and other extravagancies, which we diſavow, they may attack it as vehemently as they pleaſe; but it deſerves their conſideration that it is a creature of their own, and that in reſpect to *us*, at leaſt, the moſt pointed of their weapons falls "*Telum imbelle ſine ictu.*"—(pp. 93—96.)

On this part of Mr. Overton's book Dr. Kipling has very properly obſerved, that, if his profeſſions be taken in their

literal ſenſe, Mr. Overton is no Calviniſt. He here, in words, diſclaims the obnoxious doctrines of Partial Redemption, of Reprobation, and of the Fall's being the effect of a Divine decree: the three moſt eſſential and fundamental tenets of the whole ſyſtem. Mr. Overton may complain of us for charging him with conſequences which he diſavows. But no man has a right to diſavow thoſe conſequences which inevitably follow from the principles maintained by him. Every honeſt man will abandon principles from which abſurd and impious conſequences flow. Mr. Overton would be thought a *Sublapſarian* Calviniſt; and he thinks that he ſaves the credit of his party by triumphantly aſking, "In which of their writings can our opponents find a ſingle paragraph that goes *beyond* the Sublapſarian ſcheme?"—(p. 96.) But Mr. Overton forgot himſelf in the progreſs of his work; for the following ſentence will be ſeen to involve every diſtinguiſhing tenet of genuine Calviniſm, underſtood in the higheſt *Supralapſarian* ſenſe:

"And what ſcheme does ſo much honour to the character and government of the Supreme Being, as that which repreſents him as *aiming* continually [a ſtrange phraſe, ſurely, as applied to God!] at the *manifeſtation of his own glorious perfections*, and the greateſt poſſible ultimate felicity of his creatures; as accompliſhing theſe ends by means concerted in wiſdom and goodneſs; permitting *partial* evil, in order to greater good; leaving his intelligent creatures to be INFLUENCED BY MOTIVES WHICH ARE CERTAIN IN THEIR EFFECTS, but which deſtroy not the moral reſponſibility of the agent?"—(p. 355.)

Our readers will not fail to obſerve that the ſingle principle, here aſſumed as true, that God's "*intelligent creatures are influenced by motives which are certain in their effects*," embraces ſubſtantially the whole ſyſtem of Calvin: the Decree of the Fall, the Annihilation of Human Liberty, the Infallible Operation of Invincible Grace in the Elect, and the Preconcerted Preparation for the Damnation of the Reprobate. "Minime conſentanteum eſt *preparationem ad interitum alio transferre quam ad arcanum conſilium Dei*."—(Calv. Inſt. iii. 23. 1.) The ultimate end too aſſigned by Mr. Overton for this horrible diſpenſation is purely Calviniſtic: it is for "*the manifeſtation of God's glorious perfections*." "Inter homines naſcuntur certæ morti devoti, *qui ſuo exitio ipſius nomen glorificent*."—(Inſt. iii. 23. 6.)

The reader will find in Mr. Daubeny's book, from p. 434 to p. 441, ſome admirable reflections on Mr. Overton's *mild* and *moderate* Calviniſm. Mr. O. pretends that his ſyſtem does "not mutilate the ſubject." But, ſays Mr. D., "Election, *Calviniſtically*

*Calviniſtically* underſtood, certainly mutilates the doctrine of ſalvation by grace, by confining that to ſome choſen individuals, to the excluſion of all others, which, according to the divine will, was deſigned for the benefit of all. 'Who will have *all* men to be ſaved. Who gave himſelf a ranſom for *all*. Who taſted death for *every man*.' But Mr. O. obviates this objection by the introduction of a ſingle word. 'The church of England,' ſays he, 'unequivocally inculcates the doctrines now often termed *moderate Calviniſm*.' Under the ſpecious title of *moderate* Calviniſm, *real* Calviniſm may be and often is received in diſguiſe; for few of thoſe well-meaning perſons who talk of *moderate* Calviniſm know what Calviniſm really is, much leſs do they know where to draw the line of ſeparation between the doctrines of grace as revealed in Scripture, and thoſe peculiar tenets of Calvin by which thoſe doctrines have been corrupted."

"Mr. O. ſays (p. 355), that 'the fundamental principles on which the Calviniſtic ſyſtem reſts, are *incontrovertible*. Had not the glorious Being who created the world a right to create it for what purpoſe he pleaſed?' The queſtion is not what the Divine Being *has a right* to do, (for this is a queſtion as unfit to be propoſed as to be anſwered,) but what that Being *has thought fit* to do in his great works of creation and redemption; and this can be known only from revelation. The unſcriptural doctrine of *abſolute decrees* is known to conſtitute the *foundation* of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem. In holding, then, the fundamental principles of that ſyſtem to be *incontrovertible*, Mr. O. muſt hold the doctrine of *abſolute decrees*: it is otherwiſe incumbent on him to prove how the diſavowal of abſolute decrees is compatible with this boaſted incontrovertibility of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem. What, then, is meant by this new-faſhioned term, *moderate Calviniſm*? By *moderate* Calviniſm muſt be underſtood what is, at leaſt, in ſome degree Calviniſtic; otherwiſe the word Calviniſm is improperly applied. But *moderate* Calviniſm appears to me to be a contradiction in terms; for Calviniſm, conſidered in its eſſence, is a doctrine made up of frightful extremes. The annexing [of] the epithet *moderate* to it is ſomething like enveloping a nauſeous medicine with wafer paper, to render it leſs unpalatable to the patient, and more eaſy to ſwallow."

Mr. O. ſays, of the "Evangelical" divines whom he defends, "there is nothing about the Divine decree of the Fall, Reprobation, or any other of the doctrines which are properly denominated the *rigours* of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem, inſiſted upon in their works. Even the hoary Baronet, (Sir Richard Hill) who has recently been called *a rigid Calviniſt and predeſtinarian*, begs leave, with Auſtin, to differ, together with ſome great primitive authorities of our church, on the ſide of

moderation." (Ov. p. 96.) On this paſſage the following remarks of Mr. D. muſt carry conviction to every ingenuous and unprejudiced mind;

"St. Auſtin's doctrine on the ſubject before us was this: 'That God had decreed not to impart ſufficient ſaving grace to all men in general, but only to a ſelect few, whom he had predeſtinated to ſalvation; that the reſt of mankind muſt, therefore, inevitably periſh:' Calvin makes uſe of rougher language, deſcribing the doctrine thus: 'that, by God's eternal unconditional decree, mankind had been divided into elect and reprobate; the former to be certainly ſaved, the latter to be as certainly damned.' The only difference, then, between *rigorous* and *moderate* Calviniſm appears to conſiſt, for the moſt part, in the different manner of deſcribing the ſame eſſential doctrine; for the rigorous Calviniſt has only not to inſiſt on the Divine decree of the Fall, to drop the term *reprobate*, and to ſay, with St. Auſtin, that thoſe who have not been predeſtinated by an abſolute decree to ſalvation 'muſt inevitably periſh;' or, according to Sir R. Hill's mode of qualifying this frightful doctrine, to exchange the obnoxious term *reprobation* for the ſofter one *preterition*, and he immediately becomes what we are to underſtand by a *moderate Calviniſt*. But any perſon of moderate ſenſe, who is not at the ſame time a moderate Calviniſt, will readily perceive that, between ſaying that thoſe who are not elected to ſalvation *are reprobated*, or *paſſed over* by God; if, in conſequence of the Divine decree by which their condition has been determined, they *muſt, in either caſe*, '*inevitably periſh*,' there can be no eſſential difference. From whence it appears that, by *moderate* Calviniſm is not to be underſtood any real alteration in the *eſſence* of Calvin's doctrine, but only a kind of ſoftening down, as it were, [of] the harſh features of it, for the purpoſe of procuring it a more ready currency in the world."

"So weak," continues Mr. D. "ſo fallacious a mode of evading a plain doctrine, which muſt either be taken together or not at all, requires no anſwer from me; becauſe Calvin, who did not mean to impoſe a doctrine on his diſciples under an amphibious title, has anſwered it for me. 'Whom God *paſſes over*,' ſays he, '*he reprobates*.' And in one of his letters on this ſubject, he writes thus to a perſon (Chriſtopher Libertetus) who ſeems to have tried the ſame mode of evading the plain Calviniſtic doctrine, which the moderate Calviniſt now practiſes. 'But you, my friend, are very much deceived, if you think that the eternal counſel of the Deity can be ſo diſtinguiſhed that ſome ſhould be elected by Him to ſalvation, at the ſame time that none are doomed by Him to damnation. For, if God has *elected ſome*, it certainly follows that *all are not elected*. Moreover, what ſhall be ſaid of theſe latter, but that *they are left to periſh*? It muſt be, therefore, that the relation between the *elect* and *reprobate* ſhould mutually correſpond."

This argument of Calvin to his correſpondent is demonſtrative, and eſtabliſhes, beyond all poſſibility of confutation,

the principle which he elsewhere lays down, "that *election* must stand or fall with *reprobation; quando ipsa electio, nisi reprobationi opposita, non staret.*" (Inst. iii. 231.) The truth is, that this mutilation of Calvinism, in order to its partial adoption, is altogether an extravagant and hopeless attempt; for as Dr. Kipling has well observed, "*No man can be a piece of a Calvinist.*" The whole system must be embraced or rejected at once. This is proved in so masterly and elegant a manner by the Dean of Peterborough, that we shall lay his whole proof before our readers:

"Calvinism resembles a machine so modelled and constructed, that if any one wheel, or any one peg were taken out of it, the whole would fall in pieces. Suppose, for example, that the doctrine of reprobation was taken from Calvin's system, then also would the doctrine of election follow. But, with the elect and reprobates, would the doctrine of decrees concerning them be abolished. And, were there none of those parts of his system in existence, invincible grace, that main spring of Calvinism, would cease to have either any object to act upon, or any end to effect. Again, suppose the doctrine of invincible grace to have no foundation in truth; on this supposition there would not be an agent in existence to hinder some of Adam's progeny from falling away finally. That is, there would be no Calvinistic elect; consequently, no reprobates: therefore none predestinated; no absolute decrees; nor any thing peculiar to Calvinism. Lastly, the same thing would follow if Calvin's doctrine of original sin were taken from his system. The *existence* of that *corrupt mass*, which Adam's fall is said to have engendered, depends upon this doctrine. And, if you annihilate this mass, you annihilate the very materials of which Calvin's elect and reprobates are formed. '*Deum ex perditâ massâ eligere et reprobare.*' Consequently, as before, no part of his system would remain. It were easy to illustrate the truth of what I have advanced above by various other instances. But those which I have already given are sufficient to shew that the truth of each Calvinistic tenet is necessary to the truth of every other: that no person can, therefore, be *a piece of a Calvinist;* and that to talk of 'a moderate and a milder Calvinism' is to use the signs of ideas without any ideas annexed to them." (Kip. p. 51.)

We, therefore, heartily concur with a learned Calvinistic Professor of Divinity (Dr. Hill, in his Theological Institutes, p. 94), who most truly asserts that "disputes about the order of the Divine decrees, and the controversy between the Supra-lapsarians and the Sub-lapsarians, are insignificant." But Mr. O. has laboured hard to prove that our public standards are Calvinistic, according to his idea of moderate Calvinism, and his first argument is drawn from these standards themselves. Mr. O., however, on this important part of his subject,

ſubject, completely diſappoints the very reaſonable expectations of his readers, and puts them off with aſſertions inſtead of proofs. He very coolly aſſumes, as a certain truth, that all our forms are Calviniſtic, and, on the ground of that aſſumption, pronounces an eulogium upon their conſiſtency with one another. The eulogium, indeed, is well deſerved, and we ſubſcribe to every word of it; but our readers will obſerve that it has no connection with the queſtion in debate, and can contribute nothing to Mr. O.'s purpoſe, except when read by thoſe who are already Calviniſts, and who conſequently are accuſtomed to find Calviniſm every where. Whether this be not the caſe our readers ſhall be enabled to judge for themſelves:

"The articles, homilies, and liturgy of our church are three diſtinct ſpecies of writings. They were compoſed at different times, and, in ſome reſpects, for different purpoſes. And yet, in point of doctrine, they uniformly breathe the ſame ſpirit, and expreſs themſelves with the ſame degree of force. No one of them contracts the ideas, or by any means leſſens the import of the reſt; but, when compared with honeſty, and underſtood according to the common rules of interpreting written compoſitions, each mutually illuſtrates and confirms the full and natural ſenſe of the others. In this light they were uniformly conſidered by the great characters who reviewed and examined them at their firſt eſtabliſhment; and whatever may have been urged to the contrary from a few *detached paſſages*, he muſt be a very ſuperficial theologian who conſiders them *thoroughly* and does not perceive the ſame *exact harmony* in them now. To the great diſturbance of ſuch divines as Archdeacon Paley, the doctrines of the articles are 'woven with much induſtry into her (the Church's) forms of public worſhip.' This circumſtance, therefore, muſt materially aſſiſt us in diſcovering the original ſenſe and intention of the *whole*, and leaves little room to doubt but it was that which is moſt obviouſly ſuggeſted by the *words*, when underſtood according to the common uſe of language applied to ſuch ſubjects." (Ov. p. 45.)

To the juſtneſs and truth of theſe obſervations the moſt decided Anti-Calviniſt, who has ſtudied the formularies of the church of England, will not object. But no one, ſurely, will pretend to ſay that they prove theſe formularies to be Calviniſtic. Had Mr. O. wiſhed to act fairly by his readers, he would have "*compared with honeſty*" our articles, homilies, and liturgy with the peculiar doctrines of Calvin, and ſhewn their agreement. This, however, he has not choſen to do. But we muſt not, on that account, too ſeverely cenſure him. He was, probably, ſenſible that the undertaking was above his ſtrength; and indeed it is, we have no heſitation to affirm, above the ſtrength of any human powers. The whole tenor of

of the Engliſh liturgy, in particular, is in direct contradiction to the moſt eſſential tenets of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem. Even Mr. O.'s garbled Calviniſm is founded upon UNCONDITIONAL ELECTION and PARTIAL REDEMPTION. But no man can open his Prayer-Book without perceiving that the contrary doctrines of UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION and CONDITIONAL SALVATION are ſuppoſed and inculcated in every page. This has been ſo completely proved by thoſe writers who have engaged, in this controverſy, againſt Mr. O. eſpecially by Dr. Kipling, that the author, who ſtyles himſelf Academicus, though far from being void of acuteneſs or art, has rendered himſelf not a little ridiculous by his weak attempts to evade the Dean's arguments. We think it highly neceſſary to produce a few of the principal expreſſions which demonſtrate our Book of Common Prayer to be clearly and definitively ANTI-CALVINISTIC.

In the Liturgy, properly ſo called, paſſing by the introductory ſentences, we may begin with the Abſolution, in which, on the Calviniſtic ſcheme, the prieſt is made to pronounce to the people, in the name of the God of truth, a notorious lie.—"God deſireth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould turn from his wickedneſs and live." How can God deſire that thoſe ſhould live whom his own decree has conſigned to damnation? In the ſubſequent part, the pardon and acquittal of a ſinner are evidently *conditional*, being ſuſpended on the terms of faith and repentance. "He pardoneth and abſolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy goſpel." The prayer of the Litany, "That it may pleaſe thee to have mercy upon *all men*," is, in the mouth of a Calviniſt, a curious combination of impiety and nonſenſe. Calvin has decided (Inſt. iii. 24. 12.) that, even among thoſe to whom the goſpel is preached, the number of reprobates is to that of the elect nearly in the proportion of FOUR to ONE. Four fifths, then, even of the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, are immutably condemned to everlaſting deſtruction; and it is impoſſible that God ſhould have mercy on them. He, indeed, who carefully attends to the ſubject, will be convinced that no demonſtration in Euclid is clearer than that, on the principles of the Calviniſtic ſyſtem, all prayer is perfectly abſurd and ridiculous. To the elect it is unneceſſary; to the reprobate uſeleſs. To this petition in the Litany may be added, as of the ſame import, the language of the prayer for the whole ſtate of Chriſt's church; where God is ſaid to have "taught us, by his holy apoſtle, to make prayers and ſupplications, and to give thanks for *all* men." In the Collect for Aſh-Wedneſday, God is ſaid to "*hate* nothing that

that he hath made, and to forgive the ſins of all them that are penitent:" both which aſſertions, according to the tenets of Calvin, are falſe. In the Collect for the fourth Sunday after Trinity, we pray that "we may ſo paſs through things temporal, that we finally loſe not the things eternal." But theſe things eternal neither the elect can ever loſe, nor the reprobate obtain. The prayer is therefore again abſolute nonſenſe. The ſame may be ſaid of the Collect for the 13th Sunday after Trinity, in which we pray "that we may ſo faithfully ſerve God in this life, that we fail not finally to attain his heavenly promiſes." It is obvious that ſuch petitions are totally inconſiſtent with the Calviniſtic doctrines of invincible grace and final perſeverance, which, indeed, are only the natural conſequences of the doctrine of unconditional Decrees.

Let us now examine a few of the declarations of the Church of England with regard to the great but diſputed doctrine of *Univerſal Redemption:* for it muſt perforce be acknowledged, that, if ſhe teaches that doctrine explicitly and uniformly, ſhe is, ſtrictly and undeniably, Anti-Calviniſtic. We may firſt advert to the General Thankſgiving, where we give God "moſt humble and hearty thanks for all his goodneſs and loving-kindneſs to us and to *all men*." And, leſt this might be miſtaken, we bleſs him, above all things, "for his inеſtimable love in *the redemption*," not of one-fifth of profeſſing Chriſtians, but "of THE WORLD, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt." But even this is not the ſtrongeſt proof which we can give. If a man were anxious to expreſs his belief in Univerſal Redemption in terms which could not be miſunderſtood, we ſhould like to know what language he could uſe more proper for his deſign than that of the Conſecration prayer at the Communion. Chriſt is there ſaid to have made upon the croſs, "by his one oblation of himſelf once offered, a full, perfect, and ſufficient ſacrifice, oblation, and ſatisfaction for the ſins of THE WHOLE WORLD." The 31ſt article is ſtill, if poſſible, more full to our purpoſe. "The offering of Chriſt once made, is that *perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for* ALL THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, BOTH ORIGINAL AND ACTUAL." The language of the Catechiſm is the ſame. I learn, ſays the Catechumen, to believe "in God the Son, who redeemed me and ALL MANKIND." Of the way in which theſe unequivocal declarations are evaded by our zealous partizans of Calviniſm, we have a ſignal example in the old member of Parliament's explanation of this paſſage of the Catechiſm. This explanation we are careful to copy exactly; becauſe we think it natural that none of our readers could ſuppoſe it to be given by a man of common ſenſe.

ſenſe. "It is not leſs true, that God the Son hath redeemed me [ſpeaking as a believing Cathecumen] and all mankind, [*who are ſaid to be redeemed from among men*]" (p. 24.) Of this explanation we can only ſay what Hooker ſays of Calvin's anſwer to Farell, reſpecting the baptiſm of Popiſh children, that "it doth ſeem *crazed*." (Ecc. Pol. Lib. 3. §. 1.)

Nor, with regard to their great fundamental doctrine of Univerſal Redemption, are the Homilies leſs decided than the Liturgy, the Articles, and the Catechiſm. It is needleſs to ſearch for numerous proofs, which might eaſily be found. We ſhall content ourſelves with quoting from the Homily on the Paſſion, the following expreſſions; and when our Calviniſts ſhall have ſhewn that they teach the doctrine of Partial Redemption, we ſhall think ourſelves obliged to ſuſpend our belief, and re-examine the ſubject. "So pleaſant was this ſacrifice and oblation of his Son's death, which he ſo obediently and innocently ſuffered, that we ſhould take it for the only and full amends for *all the ſins of the world*," "Our Saviour Chriſt ſuffered death UNIVERSALLY FOR ALL MEN." "Now, he gave us not an angel, but his Son. And to whom did he give him? HE GAVE HIM TO THE WHOLE WORLD; THAT IS TO SAY, TO ADAM, AND TO ALL WHO SHOULD COME AFTER HIM."

But there is, at the end of the Office for the Public Baptiſm of Infants, a Rubric, which, were every other document of our Church annihilated, would afford evidence irrefragable and incontrovertible, that her Creed is diametrically oppoſite to Calviniſm. "It is certain by God's Word, that Children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual ſin, are undoubtedly ſaved." It is ſurely remarkable that, of all thoſe "Regular Clergy of the Eſtabliſhment who are ſometimes called *Evangelical Miniſters*," not one, as far as our knowledge of them reaches, has ever attempted to meet this Rubric, and reconcile it with partial unconditional Redemption. Nay, we venture to foretel that none of them ever *will* make the attempt: for they muſt ſee that they might as well endeavour to eſtabliſh concord, between light and darkneſs, between Chriſt and Belial. The opinion held, and neceſſarily held, by Calviniſts, with reſpect to infants, is very different indeed, and is thus accurately expreſſed in the Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith: "ELECT INFANTS, dying in infancy, are regenerated, and ſaved by Chriſt through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaſeth." (Ch. x. § 3.) But on the import of our Rubric, and its utter variance with Calviniſm, we cannot do better than copy the remarks of Dr. Kipling's

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friend in his Anſwer to Academicus. This acute and able writer, after quoting the Rubric, proceeds thus:

"It is certain, therefore, that, in the opinion of thoſe eminent divines by whom the Church was reformed, among thoſe myriads of infants who die after they are baptized, and before they have committed actual ſin, not one was predeſtined, before the world began, to eternal perdition; not one is a Calviniſtic reprobate: You will hardly maintain, I think, that, in the opinion of thoſe reformers, God by his ſpecial providence, though he permits myriads of his elect to depart out of this life after baptiſm, and before the commiſſion of ſin, yet prevents all the reprobates, who have been baptized, from departing this life until every one of them has actually committed ſin. But unleſs you do maintain this, you cannot but confeſs that we have the authority of thoſe reformers themſelves, for affirming that they totally diſbelieved Calvin's doctrine of reprobation." (Rep. to Academ. p. 59.)

With reſpect to the celebrated SEVENTEENTH Article of the Church of England, if we are to adopt Mr. O.'s principle that our formularies are conſiſtent with each other, that article, certainly, is not Calviniſtic. For if it were, it would flatly contradict, as we have ſeen, the Liturgy, the Rubric, the Catechiſm, the Homilies, and the other articles of the Church. But farther, if we take the article by itſelf, it bears on the face of it ſufficient evidence that it is not Calviniſtic. "We muſt receive," it ſays, "God's promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in Holy Scripture," if ſo we muſt believe redemption univerſal, and ſalvation conditional. And, if ſuch be the doctrine taught in this article, it cannot likewiſe inculcate partial redemption and unconditional ſalvation, unleſs its compilers were (what they certainly were not,) either knaves or fools. This argument was urged with invincible force by Mr. Daubeny in his valuable appendix. It may both amuſe and inſtruct our readers to obſerve the ſtyle of Mr. Overton's reply.

"There is, however, it muſt be confeſſed, a diſcovery made by Mr. Daubeny, which, if it be juſt," [Pray, what is *a juſt diſcovery*?] "forms a conſiderable objection to our concluſion. 'But, Sir,' ſays this writer to his opponent, 'I ſhall not do juſtice to the ſeventeenth article, if I do not obſerve further that, ſo far from being intended *to favour the Calviniſtic doctrine*, it appears to me to furniſh the MOST DECISIVE INTERNAL EVIDENCE AGAINST IT!' Poor deluded hiſtorians, ancient and modern, foreign and domeſtic, who, with one voice, have told us that our public confeſſions are formed on the Auguſtinian or Calvinian plan! Poor unfortunate Biſhop Burnet, who, when employed by his Queen and the great Metropolitan, for the very oppoſite purpoſe, has ſaid, 'It is not to be denied, but that the article ſeems to be framed according to St. Auſtin's

Auſtin's doctrine;' that although, in his judgment, *others* might ſubſcribe it, yet '*the Calviniſts have leſs occaſion to ſcruple*, ſince the article *does* ſeem more plainly to favour them;' and that the very cautions that are added to it do likewiſe intimate that *St. Auſtin's doctrine* was *deſigned* to be ſettled by the article.' Poor good-natured Arminians, who have made ſo many undue *conceſſions*, and have *ſo laboured to account* for this circumſtance; aſcribing it to the Marian exile, and a deſire to comprehend the Calviniſts, and to the fact, 'that ſome of the compilers of the articles were Calviniſts.' Poor ſhort-ſighted ſimpletons altogether, who, *for two hundred and thirty-ſeven years* have been doting about the *Calviniſtic tendency* of our articles, when, after all, the *very article upon which this opinion has been chiefly founded, furniſhes the* MOST DECISIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST IT! Well may Mr. Daubeny be repreſented as 'indiſputably the *very foremoſt*, or *among the foremoſt*, writers of the age!' Well may it be triumphantly concluded, 'that Calviniſts will hardly attempt to *reaſon* with *him!*' With the man who can view ſuch an article in ſuch a light, conſidered under all its circumſtances, and in connection with what has been the prevailing opinion of perſons of all perſuaſions upon it, it is certainly in vain to reaſon." (Ov. pp. 92, 93.)

This is certainly the language of triumphant victory, not wholly unaccompanied with an air of contempt. But Mr. Overton triumphed a little too ſoon. For there is not one of the collateral arguments by which he tries to prove our reformers Calviniſts, and our ſtandards Calviniſtic, that will bear inſpection. Mr. Daubeny has examined them all, and has proved them to be lighter than air. His hiſtorians are either men who were not competent judges, or were anxious to fix Calviniſm on the Church of England. Biſhop Burnet's expoſition was expreſsly compoſed with a view to bring about what was called *a Comprehenſion*; and, at the time of its publication, was charged, by the lower Houſe of Convocation, with teaching dangerous and unſound doctrines. But Mr. O.'s arguments are ſometimes ſo extraordinary as to exceed all belief. Thus, in reaſoning concerning the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles, he makes Laud and his aſſociates, by whoſe influence the declaration was procured, perſons "who had adopted milder notions on the points peculiar to Calviniſm, than thoſe which generally prevailed in the nation at that period." (p. 48). He therefore, concludes that the declaration was intended to promote this "mild and moderate Calviniſm." It is almoſt impoſſible, we think, to ſuppoſe Mr. O. ignorant that Laud and his aſſociates were determined Anti-Calviniſts; and that, therefore, the declaration was deſigned to diſcountenance Calviniſm in every form. The Calviniſts themſelves underſtood it ſo; for they loudly complained that,

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in consequence of it, "a restraint was laid on them from preaching *the saving doctrine of God's free grace in Election and Predestination.*" The history of the Declaration is given by Mr. Daubeny (Vind. pp. 58—64) at large; and, from every circumstance connected with that document, it appears that Mr. Overton ought to have drawn from it just the contrary conclusion to that which he has actually drawn. The following reflections speak for themselves; and we therefore give them without a single comment.

"Before I quit this subject, it will be proper to say a few words to the ingenious conclusion [which] Mr. O. has drawn from his premises on this occasion. I call it *ingenious*, because to me it appears to require some degree of ingenuity to convert a divine who had been distinguished through his whole life, in the character of a decided *Anti-Calvinist*, and whom some call *that high-flying Arminian Laud*, into a *mild Calvinist*. Either Mr. O. himself was ignorant of the real state of our Church at the period here referred to, or he wrote on the presumption that his reader might have no knowledge on the subject, but what was to be derived from his pages. According to Mr. O.'s account, the Church of England was at that time divided into two parties, consisting of *mild* and *rigid* Calvinists. The *former* had Laud and his associates at their head, who had adopted, Mr. O. says, milder notions on the points peculiar to Calvinism: whilst the *latter*, who constituted by far a 'great majority,' were distinguished by the more rigid notions. The Declaration in question, therefore, having been brought forward by Laud and his associates, was, of course, brought forward for the purpose of securing those milder notions on the peculiar notions of Calvinism, which they are here said to profess. On this ground Mr. O. has built his *a fortiori* argument (as he calls it), to prove that the Declaration in question must support that species of mild Calvinism which he maintains; because to this standard *the most moderate Calvinists*, (namely, Laud and his associates,) professed to reach. But this surely is pressing Laud into the service of Calvinism with a vengeance. It is making him a Calvinist, for the purpose of making the Declaration, which originated with him, minister to a Calvinistic purpose. It is a bad cause, in the defence of which nothing can be said; what, then, must that cause be, in the defence of which whatever is said proves to be worse than nothing?" (Daub. p. 64, &c.)

But our Evangelical "True Churchmen" appear to have a logic peculiar to themselves. Mr. O. having proved, as he thinks, from "our different forms as they illustrate and explain each other," though he has not compared these forms at all; from "the title and preamble *annexed* [prefixed] to the articles;" from "the circumstances and object of our reformers;" from "their other public and approved writings;" from "the authorities [which] they respected;" and from "their known private

private ſentiments;" that our ſtandards were originally Calviniſtic, abuſes thoſe in the moſt unmerciful terms whoſe opinion of theſe ſtandards is different from his own. It is obvious, however, that ſome of the topics from which he argues, can afford no certain concluſion on the ſubject. The *private ſentiments* of the reformers, for inſtance, furniſh nothing more than preſumptive evidence. For the queſtion in debate is not what the reformers *privately thought*, but what they *publicly taught*. It is probable, indeed, that all the reformers were not thoroughly agreed in ſentiment and opinion with regard to every controverted point which came under their examination; ſince, on any difficult ſubject of inquiry, it is not eaſy to find even two individuals who think and reaſon preciſely alike. The only ſure way, therefore, of coming at the real doctrine of our Church is by examining her ſtandards, and comparing them with each other; but this Mr. O. has not even attempted. And with regard to the private ſentiments of the reformers, the whole conduct of his argument is, either from inadvertence or deſign, completely ſophiſtical. He does not give us the ſentiments of our *Original* reformers, of Cranmer, Ridley, and their aſſociates; but carries us rapidly to the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, and to thoſe of James and Charles I. when, it is on all hands agreed, Calviniſm conſiderably prevailed; and when many ſtriking monuments of its prevalence appear. But not ſatisfied with theſe more ancient authorities, he condeſcends to call in the aid of ſuch as are altogether irrelevant to the ſubject. He has, he boaſts, on his ſide "THE UNANIMOUS TESTIMONY of men of all ſentiments, and of the utmoſt reſpectability." (p. 69.) But his witneſſes are a very motley crew; and ſome of them are evidently wholly unqualified to give evidence in the cauſe. The majority of them are writers of yeſterday; and conſequently their teſtimony cannot be allowed to be ſuperior to that of Mr. Overton himſelf. Who, for inſtance, would appeal, for the genuine ſentiments of the Engliſh Reformers, or for the interpretation of the doctrines eſtabliſhed by them, to the writings of Smollet, Robertſon and Hume? But Mr. O. cites witneſſes ſtill more incompetent; the Conductors of the New Annual Regiſter, and of the Critical Review. It is far from our intention to ſpeak of theſe publications with any diſreſpect. By the mere circumſtance of being recent and anonymous, they are evidently precluded from coming forward in aid of Mr. Overton's aſſertion. And he perhaps, is the only man alive who would have had recourſe to ſuch evidence in ſuch a cauſe. Surely it might have occurred to him that, whatever ſide of the controverſy ſuch writers favoured, they

could be considered only as speaking their *opinion*, and in no degree as substantiating *facts*. Mr. O. however, has other witnesses, apparently entitled to higher credit. These are Strype, Mosheim, Davenant, Carleton, Hall, Ward, Usher, and Whitaker. But Strype says no such thing as Mr. Overton alleges. With regard to Mosheim, he certainly affirms that, "under the reign of Edward VI. Geneva was acknowledged as a Sister Church; that the theological system there established by Calvin was adopted as the public rule of faith in England, and that the greatest part of the English reformers were at least Sublapsarians." But the same historian says, that "after the death of Henry, the universities, schools, and churches became the oracles of Calvinism." Now, it is thoroughly known to every person conversant in our Ecclesiastical History, that this prevalence of Calvinism did not take place till the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and the beginning of that of James. Motheim has, therefore, discovered his ignorance by confounding periods totally distinct, and asserting of the former what is true in part, only of the latter; we say *in part*, because what he asserts in this place is not true, in its full extent, even of the latter period. He himself informs us, that "scarcely had the British divines returned from the synod of Dort, and given an account of the laws that had been enacted, and the doctrines that had been established, by that famous Assembly, when the King, together with the greatest part of the Episcopal Clergy, discovered, in the strongest terms, their dislike of these proceedings, and judged the sentiments of Arminius, relating to the divine decrees, preferable to those of Gomarus and Calvin." He adds on this occasion, what we leave Mr. O. to reconcile at his leisure, with the testimony of some among his learned and zealous friends. "Every one knows that the peculiar doctrines to which the victory was assigned by the synod of Dort, were *absolutely unknown in the first ages of the Christian Church*."

Of the very learned Usher it is sufficient to observe, that, though he once held Calvinism in its most rigid form, he did not die in that belief. We have his recantation, attested by three most unexceptionable witnesses, Dr. Bryan Walton, Mr. Peter Gunning, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike. It is not likely that Mr. Overton was ignorant of this; and he was bound in candour not to conceal it. With respect to Davenant, Carleton, Hall, and Ward, the four English divines who attended the synod of Dort, Mr. Overton should certainly have told his readers, that they were commanded, by their sovereign, to vote in that assembly for *Universal Redemption*; and that they actually

actually voted accordingly, If these men, therefore, were either Calvinists themselves, even up to the standard of Mr. Overton's *mild* and *moderate* Calvinism, or if they thought the forms of the Church of England Calvinistic, they unquestionably were not *honest* men, but unprincipled knaves, void of all conscience. This, however, was not their character; and therefore we conclude, that they were neither Calvinists themselves, nor believed our Articles to be Calvinistic.

The learned Professor Whitaker, indeed, may be thought a witness whose testimony for the Calvinism of our Church from the first it is impossible to impugn. This zealous Calvinist has roundly asserted, that the "Church of England, *ever since the gospel was restored*, hath *always* held this opinion," &c. No assertion, undoubtedly, can be more positive. But what says the judicious and well-informed Strype: "Till about the year 1595, Calvin's way of explaining the divine decrees was not entertained by many learned men in the University of Cambridge; and, although Calvinism prevailed much in her (Elizabeth's) reign, *yet it was not understood to be certainly the sense of our Articles, even by those who held this doctrine.*" Nor does the historian here speak at random: for when Whitaker himself laid an accusation before the primate Whitgift against Barrett, for corrupting the University by preaching Anti-Calvinism, he was naturally and reasonably required by the archbishop, to point out what Article of the Church of England Barrett's preaching contradicted: but he declined the task, and returned for answer, "For the points of doctrine, we are fully persuaded that Mr. Barrett hath taught untruth, *if not against the Articles*, yet against the religion of our Church publicly received." The answer is very extraordinary surely: for, by the learned Professor's mode of reasoning, a man may teach against the doctrines of a church without teaching against the standards which contain that doctrine. But Whitaker, it is evident, was unable (for of his willingness we cannot doubt) to make out his case, by showing the Calvinism of our Articles; nay, what is more, he very fairly confesses that they are *not Calvinistic*. "For," continues he, *although these points were not concluded and defined by public authority*, yet forasmuch as they have been hitherto evermore held in our churches, therefore ought they not to be controverted." These assertions, it is true, do not hang well together; for it is surely strange to affirm, that doctrines have evermore been held by a Church which have never been defined by public authority. But, at all events, the confession is plain, that, in the judgment of this learned and zealous Calvinist, Calvinism was not the established doctrine of the Church of England.

We are, therefore, we acknowledge, not a little aſtoniſhed at the conſtant and diſingenuous pertinacity with which our modern Calviniſts repeat, that our Articles have uniformly, from the very beginning, been regarded as teaching the doctrines of Calvin. Thus, Mr. Overton, in a ſplendid paſſage which we have given above, ſuppoſes this opinion to have been generally entertained for *two hundred and thirty-ſeven* years. And the anonymous author of the publication intitled, "The Church of England vindicated from Miſrepreſentation," full of violent abuſe againſt the Biſhop of Lincoln's "Elements of Chriſtian Theology," writes thus:

"The writings of the firſt reformers exhibit one uniform tenor of doctrine, confirmed by the ſuffrage of both Univerſities, and remaining for the firſt hundred years, or more, after the Reformation, unimpeached; nor dared any man, in that age, without immediate cenſure, queſtion whether the Articles ſubſcribed were not, in their literal and grammatical ſenſe, what is called Calviniſtic: and for this I appeal to the whole current of our church hiſtory and its reformers."

Such, too, is the conſtant conſentient language of the whole party. The appeal is, indeed, we really think, a bold one; and we will not decline it. We ſhall begin with a pretty ancient part of our hiſtory, and again refer to the learned Calviniſt, Profeſſor Whitaker. We have ſeen this man accuſing Barrett of teaching "untruth," becauſe he preached Anti-Calviniſm. He is deſired to produce thoſe Articles of the Church which Barrett contradicted. If Whitaker believed the Articles Calviniſtic, this was eaſily done; and muſt have been attended with certain victory. Does he do it then? So far from it, that he very candidly owns, that the Articles contain nothing deciſive on the ſubject. "Theſe points," he ſays, "were not concluded or defined by public authority." How, then, does Whitaker go to work in order to ſecure the purity of the Church againſt ſuch hereſy as that of Barrett, for the future? In conjunction with his aſſociates, he forms a ſet of Articles, containing *the very quinteſſence of Calviniſtic abſurdity*; and he ſolicits Whitgift to uſe his influence with the Queen for the adoption and ratification of theſe Articles as the ſtandard of the public faith. Was this the conduct of men who were ſatisfied, as our preſent Calviniſts would have us believe, that the exiſting Articles of the Church of England were clearly and definitively Calviniſtic? If this was their perſuaſion, it muſt be confeſſed that they acted like madmen.

But the Lambeth Articles were no ſooner known to Elizabeth than, to the eternal credit of her underſtanding and good ſenſe, ſhe inſtantly ordered them, under pain of her diſpleaſure,

ſure, to be ſuppreſſed; and this was done ſo effectually, that "a copy of them," ſays Collier, "was not to be met with for ſome time after!" The reſtleſs party, however, who favoured them, ſtill ſhowed themſelves diſſatisfied with the authorized Articles, and diſcovered no ſigns that they conſidered theſe Articles as clearly and definitively Calviniſtic. Accordingly, at the acceſſion of King James, from whom more favour was expected than Queen Elizabeth was willing to grant, the Lambeth Articles were again brought forward by the Calviniſtic miniſters, who, at the Hampton-Court conference in 1603, deſired that they might, at leaſt, be added to our other public eccleſiaſtical forms. But the commiſſioners at the conference on the part of the Church, conſiſting of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, eight other biſhops, ſeven deans, and two doctors, again rejected the application, and diſmiſſed the Lambeth Articles for ever.

We have already indicated, with ſufficient diſtinctneſs, the concluſions which, on this ſubject, ariſe from the conduct of the King, and of his Clergy, relative to the proceedings of the ſynod of Dort. About ten years after, in the reign of Charles I. was publiſhed the Royal Declaration, which ſtill continues to be printed by way of preface to the Articles. This authoritative document contains an injunction, "that no man hereafter ſhall either print or preach to draw the Article" (by which Article it is generally underſtood that the ſeventeenth is particularly meant) "aſide any way, but ſhall ſubmit to it in the *plain and full meaning* thereof; and ſhall not put his own ſenſe or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but ſhall take it in the *literal and grammatical ſenſe*." Now, Mr. Overton, and his "Evangelical true Churchmen" moſt obſtinately contend, that the Articles of the Church of England, in their *literal and grammatical ſenſe*, are clearly and definitively Calviniſtic. And they conſtantly affirm, that the Anti-Calviniſts, in order to make the Articles favour their cauſe, are obliged to pervert, "*extenuate, and evade*" this literal, plain, and grammatical ſenſe. If this be really the fact, the Calviniſts, ſurely, who were contemporaries with Laud, had great reaſon to be pleaſed with him, for his exertions in procuring an injunction ſo friendly to their faith. But were they, in reality, ſatisfied and grateful? On the contrary, they complained moſt clamorouſly and loudly of this Declaration. "They gave out," ſays Collier, "that the deſign of it was chiefly for the ſuppreſſing orthodox books, for the diſcouraging godly miniſters from preaching the comfortable doctrines of man's election to eternal happineſs, and for promoting the growth of Arminianiſm." They ſtated, as we have already obſerved,

" what a reſtraint was laid on them from preaching *the ſaving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predeſtination.*" From preaching theſe doctrines the Calviniſts were, by their own account, reſtrained by the Declaration. The concluſion is obvious; and it follows with irreſiſtible force. We ſhall ſtate it in the clear and convincing language of Mr. Overton's moſt formidable opponent.

" As every law furniſhes the beſt comment on its own meaning and deſign, by adverting to the cauſe or cauſes which gave riſe to its inſtitution, ſo will it be found to be the caſe with this Declaration; which, by alluding to the differences which had taken place between divines on thoſe ſubjects of controverſy which had been long in agitation, points out clearly the object it had in view; which was to prevent all further curious ſearch into thoſe predeſtinarian points, (in which *the eſſence of Calviniſm* conſiſts) and 'that all diſputes ſhould be ſhut up in God's promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth unto us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England, according to them.' In this light was the above Declaration ſeen at the time, as deſigned to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe diſputes which diſturbed the peace of the Church, by confining the clergy to the literal ſenſe of the Articles, and thereby preventing them (to make uſe of the law phraſe) from travelling out of the record. On this account it was ſo loudly complained of by the Calviniſts of the day, that even an addreſs to the King was prepared by them againſt it: 'The petition ſets forth what a reſtraint was laid upon them from preaching *the ſaving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predeſtination*; that this had brought them under a very uncomfortable dilemma, either of falling under the divine diſpleaſure, if they did not execute their commiſſion in declaring the whole counſel of God; or of being cenſured for oppoſition to his Majeſty's authority, in caſe *they preached the received doctrines of the Church.*' (Collier.) The received doctrines of the Church, then, in the judgment of the Calviniſts, were, *the ſaving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predeſtination, according to the Calviniſtic interpretation.* From preaching theſe doctrines the Calviniſts, according to the tenor of their petition, were *reſtrained* by the Royal Declaration. But the Declaration only enjoined the clergy to 'ſhut up all diſputes in God's promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth in the holy Scriptures, and the *general* meaning of the Articles of the Church of England, and not to print or preach to draw the Article (by which, from the context, the ſeventeenth Article ſeems clearly to be meant) aſide any way, nor put their own ſenſe or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but to take it in the literal and grammatical ſenſe.' Therefore, *the literal and grammatical ſenſe of the Article alluded to,* in conjunction with *the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England,* did not, in the opinion of the Calviniſts of that period, contain *the ſaving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predeſtination,* according

cording to the Calviniſtic interpretation." (Daub. Vindic. pp. 62—64.)

This reaſoning appears to us impregnable; and we, therefore, conclude that our ancient Engliſh Calviniſts, however much they inſiſted on the doctrines of Calvin being the conſtantly received doctrines of the clergy of our Church, never ſo much as thought of advancing the plea which is now ſo loudly urged by our modern "True Churchmen," that her public ſtandards are clearly and definitively Calviniſtic. But, if farther evidence were wanted in this matter, we have only to deſcend a little farther in our hiſtory, and we ſhall meet with a moſt convincing *practical* proof that Calviniſm was *not* ſuppoſed to be the eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England. In the progreſs of the unhappy diſputes between the excellent but unfortunate Charles and his parliament, the Calviniſts obtained, as every one knows, a decided victory, which ſubverted at once both the altar and the throne. They were enemies, open and avowed, to the *government* and *diſcipline* of the Church of England: theſe, therefore, it was natural for them to change. But they had no occaſion to alter her Articles, if theſe Articles were regarded by them as clearly Calviniſtic. They, however, took care to give an early and moſt effectual demonſtration that this was very far from being their ſentiment. They immediately appointed an aſſembly of divines to draw up a code of doctrine and diſcipline more agreeable to the notions which then prevailed. This aſſembly compiled the famous Weſtminſter Confeſſion of Faith, which remains on record, an imperiſhable monument of what genuine Calviniſm really is. Whoever has taken, as we have done, the trouble to compare this precious compilation with our public ſtandards, muſt have been greatly ſtruck with the difference between them; and this difference is not leſs in point of doctrine than in point of diſcipline. There is not one of the wild and erroneous dogmas of Calvin relating to the ſubject of predeſtination, which is not there laid down in the moſt explicit terms. From the whole of this evidence, therefore, we conceive ourſelves fully entitled to affirm, that the ground which is taken by Mr. Overton's "True Churchmen" is wholly untenable, and that the cauſe which they labour to ſupport is deſperate. Let theſe gentlemen declare themſelves Calviniſts as loudly and as long as they pleaſe: ſhould they even improve upon Calvin himſelf (if that be poſſible), they have a right to proclaim their improvements to the world. Whenever the queſtion ſhall come to be, whether their ſyſtem be founded in falſehood or in truth, there will not be wanting, we preſume, a ſufficient number of perſons both able and willing to exa-

mine its pretenſions and appreciate its merits. But, at preſent, they have choſen to place the matter on a different footing, on which their arrogant claims, they may reſt aſſured, will not, and *cannot*, ſtand. For, while they hold themſelves up as the only perſons who teach the genuine doctrines of the Church of England, and brand the whole body of the national clergy as men devoid of all principle, becauſe they reject the monſtrous propoſitions of Calvin; they would find, after full and impartial inveſtigation, that they themſelves, in fact, *pervert the doctrines of the Church of England, belie the conſtant profeſſions of their own more reſpectable anceſtors, and moſt flatly contradict the uniform tenor of our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

*(To be continued.)*

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ART. LII. *The Antiquities of Ireland. The Second Edition, with Additions and Corrections. To which is added, a Collection of Miſcellaneous Antiquities. By Edward Ledwich, LL. D. and Member of many learned Societies.* 4to. pp. 526. Jones, Dublin. 1804.

THE writings of Iriſh antiquaries have ſo long been juſtly the object of ridicule for the romance and fables of which they are principally compoſed, that Dr. Ledwich deſerves great praiſe even for the negative merit of having carefully avoided the reproach of his predeceſſors. If, occaſionally, we are perplexed by his want of arrangement, or fatigued by his prolixity, and the heavineſs and inelegance of his ſtyle, we recal to mind that he is an Iriſh antiquary, and return him our thanks for not having diſguſted us with *aniles fabulas.*

The firſt edition of this work was publiſhed about thirteen years ſince; and we ſhould gladly have indulged the hope, that the ſober and judicious inveſtigation diſplayed by our author, and by Dr. Campbell, in his Strictures on the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Ireland, had cured the Iriſh antiquaries of their fondneſs for dreaming, if we had not ſeen the works of General Vallancey and Mr. O'Halloran ſtill in repute among them. Several eſſays are added to this edition of Dr. Ledwich's work, moſt of which were publiſhed before in the works of the different learned ſocieties of which he is a member. The following intereſting and curious ſubjects are treated of:

"The Romantic Hiſtory of Ireland:—Ancient Notices reſpecting Ireland and its Name:—The Colonization of Ireland:—The Druids and their Religion:—The Pagan State of Ireland and its Remains:—The

—The Introduction of Chriſtianity, and St. Patrick:—Anecdotes of early Chriſtianity in Ireland:—Origin and Progreſs of Monachiſm in Ireland:—The Iriſh Culdees, and Antiquities of Monaincha:—State of the Iriſh Church in the Eleventh Century and after:—The Stone-roofed Churches and Cormacs Chapel:—The Round Towers in Ireland:—Hiſtory and Antiquities of Glendaloch:—Obſervations on Saxon and Gothic Architecture:—Ancient Iriſh Coins:—Obſervations on the Harp and ancient Iriſh Muſic:—Ancient Iriſh Muſical Inſtruments:—Ancient Iriſh Dreſs:—Military Antiquities of Ireland:—Political Conſtitution and Laws of the ancient Iriſh:—The Ogham Characters and alphabetic Elements of the Ancient Iriſh:—Review of Iriſh Literature in the middle Ages:—Giraldus Cambrenſis illuſtrated:—Hiſtory and Antiquities of Iriſh Town and Kilkenny:—Appendix of Records to Iriſh Town and Kilkenny:—Abbey and Church of Aghaboe:—Abbey of Athaſſel:—Abbey of Deveniſh:—Chapel at Holy Croſs:—Abbey of Knockmoy:—Old Leighlin:—Miſcellaneous Antiquities."

It would far exceed the limits within which we muſt confine our inveſtigations on ſubjects not generally intereſting, to analyſe and examine each of theſe eſſays; we ſhall, therefore, principally direct the attention of our readers to thoſe points on which we are inclined to differ from Dr. Ledwich, or which will involve diſcuſſion of more extenſive intereſt and importance.

Our author's determination to reject every opinion not ſupported by direct and concurring teſtimony, has, apparently, rendered him ſceptical reſpecting the commercial tranſactions of the Phœnicians with this iſland. To us, the grounds on which he oppoſes the generally received opinion appear by no means tenable. We are not diſpoſed to deny that tin was commonly uſed among the Greeks in the time of Homer; on the contrary, in addition to the teſtimony of that poet, cited by Dr. Ledwich, we would adduce a paſſage from Heſiod, which, we think, proves the point even more concluſively. Heſiod, in deſcribing the attempt of the giants againſt Jupiter, and the effect of Jupiter's thunder and lightning on the earth, ſays that the earth was melted like tin which is put into the furnace*. Now, we cannot ſuppoſe that the extreme fuſibility of this metal would have been uſed by the poet to illuſtrate his ſubject, unleſs it had at that time been in common uſe. It is next to be enquired, from what part of the world, and by what means, the Greeks procured this metal. Dr. Ledwich thinks it highly improbable that it was brought to them by the Phœnicians from Britain, and traces it to Malacca. Whatever may become of the opinion that it was Britiſh

* Heſiod. Theog. v. 862—3.

tish tin brought by the Phœnicians (the evidence for which we shall presently examine), we can by no means agree with our author, that it was procured from Malacca. There is no evidence that any communication, either direct or indirect, existed between that part of the East and Greece at any time. the Phœnicians, in the time of Homer, were the only commercial people in the world; and they traded principally towards the west. The Malabar coast seems to have been the extent of the navigation or trade of the ancients, even after their knowledge of the monsoons enabled them to stretch across the sea which divides Africa from the western side of Asia; and in the time of Pliny, Taprobane or Ceylon was first made known to the Romans*. Dismissing, therefore, this conjecture as highly improbable, let us examine the reasons which are alleged by Dr. Ledwich against the British origin of the tin used by the Greeks, and the Phœnician commerce with this island. "It was not from Britain tin was produced, for it was then thinly inhabited by a few wandering Celts." (p.13.) Allowing this to be true (though, by the by, it rests on the mere assertion of Mr. Pinkerton), it cannot be thought to make in the least against the commerce of the Phœnicians with this island. Do not we trade for furs, &c. with many American tribes who are not more civilized than our ancestors probably were in the time of Homer?—"The Sidonian and Phœnician ships were almost round; a form ill adapted for distant navigation." (p. 13.) But besides the *Gauli* or round ships, they possessed, at a very early period, *Argo* or long ships†. Indeed, the supposition, that their ships were round and ill adapted to distant navigation, is completely at variance with the well authenticated fact, that they did perform very long and distant voyages. But, Dr. Ledwich further remarks, that "Strabo allows little credit to the relations of the Phœnician voyages in remote times. (p. 13.) Notwithstanding subsequent geographers and historians among the Greeks and Romans appear to have discredited the account which Herodotus gives of a voyage performed by the Phœnicians, by the order of Necho king of Egypt, in which the peninsular form of Africa was discovered, it appears entitled to credit. They rejected the belief of it for the very reason which ought to induce us to believe it. Herodotus relates‡, that in that voyage the sun appeared to the navigators on the right hand; or, in other words (as the ancients, in talking of the position of the sun, supposed their face turned to the west), the sun appeared to the

* Plinii Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 22. † Bochart. Canaan. l. xi. c. 11.
‡ Herodotus, lib. iv. p. 269. Edit. Steph. 1592.

the north of them at noon; we need not be ſurprized that the ancients, who were extremely ignorant both of geography and aſtronomy, conſidered this circumſtance as fabulous, and therefore diſbelieved the voyage altogether: but we know, that it muſt have happened to the Phœnicians in their circumnavigation of Africa, and its ſingularity would induce them to record it; at the ſame time, it is by no means a circumſtance likely to have been invented, or at all ſimilar to the fables recorded by the early navigators. When we conſider the ſecrecy which the Phœnicians obſerved reſpecting their navigations, it is not ſurpriſing that the poſition of the Caſſiterides ſhould have been ſo very doubtful. (p. 13.)

It may, however, be objected, that the tin in uſe among the Greeks, even allowing it was brought to them by the Phœnicians, was not the production of Britain. But we know no other country in which tin is to be found with which the Phœnicians traded. Bochart, indeed, maintains, that the Phœnicians at firſt procured tin from Spain, and did not trade with Britain till the Spaniſh mines were exhauſted; but he appears to have little reaſon for his opinion that tin was ever abundant there, at leaſt in that part to which the Phœnicians had acceſs*. It is by no means probable, that if tin mines had abounded in Spain, they would have been completely exhauſted: but at preſent no tin is to be found in that country, except a little in Galicia, a part of Spain not very likely to have been viſited by the Phœnicians. Beſides, the epithet applied to tin points out its origin to be Britiſh. In the treatiſe aſcribed to Ariſtotle, *de mirabilibus Auſcultis*, it is called Celtic tin†; now no part of the country, which the ancients ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the Celts, produced tin, except Britain, and the epithet *Celtic* being applied to it, renders it extremely probable, not only that it generally came from that country, but that the Greeks firſt got it from thence.

Having thus advanced the arguments and authorities that have led us to controvert Dr. Ledwich on this point, we think it extremely probable that the Phœnicians, in their voyages to Cornwall, might viſit, or at leaſt diſcover, Ireland. Indeed, from the authority of Pliny, we are juſtified in believing that Britain and Ireland were tolerably well known long before the time of Julius Cæſar. This writer mentions Britain, as *clara Græcis noſtriſque monumentis*:—expreſſions he would ſcarcely have

* It appears from Pliny, that the tin of Luſitania and Galicia was neither very abundant, nor very eaſily procured. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxiv. c. 16 & 17.

† Ariſtot. de Mirab. Auſcult. Vol. 1. p. 1154. Edit. Duval.

have uſed, if Britain had been unknown till the time of Cæſar; and he alſo cites Timæus the hiſtorian reſpecting the diſtance of the iſland Mictis from Britain, and the trade of the Britons to it*. Timæus flouriſhed 285 years before Chriſt, and was conſidered an hiſtorian of great fidelity. The only modes by which he, or the other Greek writers, alluded to by Pliny, could obtain any knowledge of Britain, muſt have been from their colony at Marſeilles, to which, according to Poſidonius, quoted by Strabo†, tin was brought from Britain, or from the Phœnician records; and it ſeems unlikely that the trade ſhould have been ſo long, as it evidently was, with a part of Britain near to Ireland, without Ireland having been accidently or occaſionally viſited.

In the notices which Dr. Ledwich has collected of Ireland after the date of the ſuppoſed Phœnician trade to Britain, we are rather ſurpriſed that he has not included a paſſage from the treatiſe *de Mundo*, aſcribed to Ariſtotle‡. In it Ireland is is particularly mentioned, and Britain is called Albion, the name that from this paſſage, and from Pliny, appears to have been ſpecifically given to Great Britain, while Ireland, and the ſmall iſlands lying near Britain, ſeem to have been comprehended under the general term Britanniæ: which circumſtance adds ſtrength to our opinion, that Ireland may have been known to the ancients long before the time of Cæſar, though, from its paſſing under the name common to them all, it has eſcaped the notice of geographers.

Although we regard O'Brien's objections to Camden's derivation of the word Eri, the name of Ireland, from the Iriſh word Jar, as ſufficient to ſet it aſide, we cannot ſubſcribe to the etymological deductions of the author. "Iri, or, as it is now written, Eri, in Iriſh, is the great Iſle. In Teutonic, Er-aii, contracted into Eri, is the farther Iſle." (p. 19.) If we may truſt Lhuyd, *I* ſignifies an iſland only in the Gaelic: *inn/he* and *elan* are the Iriſh words for an iſland§. Beſides, the inhabitants would ſcarcely call it the great Iſle, when an iſland much larger was within ſight of them. Dr. Ledwich refers to Kilian's Teutonic dictionary for the ſecond derivation: but in our edition of that work, which we believe is the lateſt and beſt, we cannot find any ſuch meaning affixed to the word *Er*‖. On this point, however, as it is both of a very trifling nature, and impoſſible

* Plinii Nat. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 16. † Strabo, l. iii. p. 147. Edit. Caſaub. ‡ Ariſtotle, vol. i. p. 604. De Mundo. § Lhuyd. Archæol. p. 71, in voce inſula. ‖ Etymologicum Teutonicæ Linguæ Kiliani, curâ Geraldi Haſſelti. 2 vols. 4to. Trajecti Batavorum, 1777.

impoſſible to decide, we ſhall dwell no longer, but proceed to the conſideration of the fourth Eſſay.

In this Eſſay the ſobriety of the Doctor's judgment, and the extent of his reſearch, are abundantly evident. On one point only he appears to be miſtaken: he maintains that Druidiſm was profeſſed by all the Celts, however widely diſperſed, and that of courſe it prevailed in Ireland. We know of no authority that will ſupport the Celtic origin, or the extenſive ſpread of Druidiſm; and the inſtances that our author afterwards produces to prove that this ſuperſtition prevailed in Ireland, are by no means deciſive. The religion of the Druids, like the religion of all ſavage nations, had many opinions and practices in common with other ſuperſtitions. Our author draws a parallel between Druidiſm and the religion of ancient Rome; and a ſimilar reſemblance might be ſhown to exiſt between it and the ſuperſtition of the Gothic nations on many points; but in Druidiſm there exiſted ſome very ſtrong peculiar features, which we ſhall in vain look for even in the ſuperſtitions of the Celtic tribes in general. As our author gives up the argument drawn from the ſuppoſed Druidic temples in favour of the opinion that all the Celts were Druidical, we think he will find it difficult, on further examination and reflection, to maintain this opinion.

An abſtract of the fourteenth Eſſay, containing obſervations on Saxon and Gothic architecture, will be a ſufficient evidence to our readers, that we have not beſtowed on Dr. Ledwich a greater ſhare of commendation than his learning and judgment deſerve.

He begins this Eſſay by examining the different hypotheſes advanced to account for the origin of Gothic architecture. Sir Chriſtopher Wren thinks that the Europeans, in the time of the croiſades, borrowed the Gothic ſtyle from the Saracens: but the Saracenic works in the Eaſt, and in Spain and Italy, as we are informed by Le Brun and Mr. Swinburne, bear no reſemblance to the Gothic. "Mr. Gray thought there was nothing in the Gothic but the ſlender ſteeples, that might be borrowed from the Saracens, and that if both ſtyles were the ſame, then the Gothic would have cupolas: he adds, that the buildings in Perſia, Turkey, and other parts of the Eaſt, are plainly corruptions of Greek architecture. Mr. Gray forgot, that in our Saviour's time, the Temple at Jeruſalem had pinnacles, columns, ornamented capitals, and much pancarpic decoration, ſo that there was no neceſſity of deducing theſe from Saracenic works, or later inventions. Theſe exiſted in the original Jewiſh Tabernacle, and in the Chriſtian Aboria, long before the Saracens eſtabliſhed any ſtyle." (p. 189.)

Biſhop

Biſhop Warburton maintains, that our Saxon anceſtors, in their pilgrimage to the Holy Land, acquired their architectural knowledge there: but in the account of the building of the church of Hexham, in 674, the builders are expreſsly ſaid to have been brought, not from the Eaſt, but from Italy, France, &c. In ſhort, the biſhop's hypotheſis reſts entirely on his own imagination, and cannot be ſupported by any authority, or by any inſtances at all to the point.

The lancet arch, which is one of the moſt ſtriking characteriſtics of Gothic architecture, was uſed many centuries before the eſtabliſhment of the Gothic power, or the expeditions to the Holy Land, both in Britain and on the continent. The contraſted arch is to be ſeen in the remains of a city in Egypt, founded by Adrian in honour of Antinous. In the Menologium, compiled in the ninth century, there are many engravings in which the baſes, ſhafts, capitals, ornaments, and arches, are Saxon: ſo that, what are called the early Norman or Saxon, and the later Norman or Gothic, ſeem to have been indiſcriminately uſed. On a coin of Edward the Confeſſor, ſuppoſed to repreſent the church at Bury St. Edmonds, is a pointed arch; and from the expreſſions of William of Malmeſbury, the introduction of the pointed arch and ramified window, ſeems to have taken place in this land in the time of William the Conqueror.

Dr. Ledwich next deſcribes the arches that are painted in a Syriac MS. of the Goſpels, written A. D. 586, and preſerved in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library at Florence. In theſe drawings every characteriſtic ornament of the Saxon ſtyle is to be found; as nebules, lozenges, quatrefoils and chevrons, flowers, fruit, birds, &c. This curious fact ſeems to juſtify Dr. Ledwich in tracing the Saxon feuillage to an eaſtern origin.

The Capitals in the French Church at Canterbury, which is thought to have been built about the eighth century, preſent a curious aſſemblage of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Dr. Ledwich accounts for this circumſtance in a manner at once ingenious and ſatisfactory. The Egyptian ſuperſtitions are well known to have gained admittance into the religion of Rome towards the decline of that Empire; and alſo to have been not unwillingly or unſparingly incorporated by the Oriental hereſiarchs with the religion of Jeſus. Egyptian ſymbols were thus introduced on the temples of the later Roman Emperors, and on the churches of the Chriſtians.

Towards the concluſion of this eſſay, our author conſiders a curious ſpecimen of Daniſh ſculptural ornament, found at Glendaloch, in which are no traces of Saxon feuillage, or Chriſtian ſymbols.

From

From this brief and neceſſarily imperfect analyſis of Dr. Ledwich's fourteenth eſſay, our readers will be enabled to judge of his judgment and reſearch. On a few points he is defective or erroneous. He takes no notice of the ingenious eſſay of Sir James Hall on Gothic Architecture, publiſhed in the fourth volume of the Tranſactions of Edinburgh. In it the ornamental parts of this ſtyle of building, and indeed every thing peculiar to it, except the pointed arch, appear to be ſatisfactorily accounted for. But as we know that the early Norman, Saxon, or round arch, exiſted long before the later Norman, Gothic, or pointed arch, Mr. Milner's opinion that the latter aroſe from the interſection of the circular Saxon arches, eſpecially as this opinion is ſupported by the appearance of the upper part of the ſouth tranſept of Wincheſter cathedral, is much more probable*. The reſemblance between the arch and the cluſtered columns of Gothic architecture, and the Banian Tree of India, is ſo ſtriking, that Biſhop Warburton may have borrowed his theory from an account of this tree†. Before we cloſe this ſubject, we would call the attention of architectural antiquarians to the deſcriptions or views of the ruins of Tauk Keſſerah, on the banks of the Tigris, which are ſaid to reſemble the columns of the ruined chancel at Orford‡.

In the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth eſſays on the Harp and ancient Iriſh Muſic, and on the ancient Iriſh Muſical Inſtruments (the latter of which is communicated by William Beauford, A. M.) there is much curious information. The following paſſage quoted by Ihre, and not noticed in either of theſe eſſays, may perhaps ſuggeſt the ancient form or mode of playing the harp among the northern nations, from whom the Iriſh evidently borrowed it. "Qui harpatorem, qui cum *circulo* harpare poteſt, in manum percuſſerit, componat illum quarta parte majori compoſitione, quam ejuſdem conditionis hominem‖. Many of the obſervations of Mr. Beauford are confirmed and illuſtrated by Dr. Leyden in that part of his Preliminary Diſſertation to the Complaynt of Scotland, where he treats of the muſical inſtruments mentioned in that work§.

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* Eſſays on Gothic Architecture. London, 1800. p. 130.

† Notes on the Hiſtory of the Caleph Vathek. p. 257.

‡ Notes on the Hiſtory of the Caleph Vathek. p. 258.

‖ Ex Legibus Anglorum et Werinorum. Tit. v. § 20. apud Ihre Gloſſarium Suio Gothicum in voce *Harpa*.

§ Complaynt of Scotland. Edin. 1801. pp. 139—170.

In

In the eighteenth eſſay, Dr. Ledwich endeavours to correct the miſtakes and ſupply the omiſſions of Mr. Walker, in his tract on the ancient Iriſh dreſs. We cannot give a more juſt ſpecimen of the ſcrupuloſity, diligence, and learning, with which our author examines opinions the moſt plauſible and the moſt flattering to his country, than what is contained in the following remarks on the paſſage adduced by the Earl of Charlemont, from an Italian poet of the fourteenth century, as an evidence that Ireland was at that time famous for her woollen manufacture.

"Iriſh Sayes or ſtuff are thus ſpoken of by an Italian poet about 1357.

"Similemente paſſamo en Irlanda,
La qual fra noi e degna di fama,
Per le nobile ſaie che ci manda."

i. e.

"In like manner we paſs into Ireland, which among us is worthy of renown, for the excellent ſtuffs ſhe ſends us. From theſe words Lord Charlemont infers, that Ireland was at this time famous for her woollen manufacture. But this concluſion reſults more from the warmth of patriotiſm, than any ſubſtantial evidence. For had this manufacture been as great as is pretended, Guilds, as in England, would have been founded, the crown would have looked for a revenue, and the public records in England and Ireland would have preſerved traces of it, and our Sayes would probably have been found in the wardrobe account of Edward I. A. D. 1299, publiſhed by the London Society of Antiquaries. Three or four memorials of Iriſh cloth, in the records of as many centuries, may evince the exiſtence, but never the celebrity of ſuch a manufacture. Beſides theſe negative proofs, which muſt always carry conſiderable weight, I ſhall now account for the introduction of our ſtuffs into Italy, a curious point, on which the Noble Lord has not touched.

A ſtatute made in Kilkenny, 3. Edward II. A. D. 1310, forbids Iriſh Lords to take exorbitant priſages, or heavy duties from merchants, for permiſſion of diſpoſing their commodities within their reſpective territories. This law was enacted in favour of the Freſcobald Society at Florence, who farmed the King's revenue throughout his dominions, and very diſhoneſtly carried it off, for which Edward * applied to the Pope to ſecure their perſons and property. Thoſe merchants imported wines, ſpices, and the ſhells of cocoanuts †, for drinking cups, and took in return our peltry and ſayes, The ſtatute before recited was paſſed to favour this traffic, and by theſe means our woollens reached Italy; they were cheaper and broader than thoſe made there, and from the laſt circumſtance the poet calls them 'nobile ſaie.' As for Ireland being 'degna di fama,'

* Prynne on the 4th Inſtitute, p. 143. Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, 13th and 14th centuries.

† Collect. de rebus Hiber, No. 5. p. 40.

merely for theſe ſayes, or to ſuppoſe the people poliſhed and mercantile, without other concurrent proofs (and there are none), it muſt be eſteemed only a poetic expreſſion. A country over-run with wild animals, and whoſe ſkins were its only riches, could be but little advanced in civility, and had but few objects of trade.

"Our noble writer conceives there was a peculiar excellence in Iriſh ſtuffs to induce the Florentines, who made large quantities of them, to import them. In anſwer to this, it muſt be obſerved, that the words, "fra noi," cannot be ſtrained to mean the Florentines excluſively; the Italians in general, with whom they trafficked, are to be underſtood, and for whoſe ſupply the Florentine manufacturers were inadequate. In a word, if it was not for the Lombard merchant, who accidentally opened a trade here, we never ſhould have heard of Iriſh ſayes in Italy." (p. 62—3.)

Of the remaining eſſays, that on the Ogham characters and Alphabetic Elements of the ancient Iriſh is particularly worthy of notice and commendation. Our author examines minutely and carefully all the aſſertions and conjectures (for they do not deſerve the name of authorities or arguments) which have been hazarded on this ſubject: and plainly ſhows, that the difficulty and obſcurity in which it has been involved, was owing more to the credulity and ignorance of the Iriſh antiquarians, than to any great perplexity or want of evidence.

If we thought ourſelves juſtified in devoting a greater proportion of our Review to the examination of a work which muſt neceſſarily be unſuitable to the taſte, and without the ſphere of many of our readers, we could eaſily and with great pleaſure, ſelect many other inſtances of Dr. Ledwich's judgment and learning. From thoſe we have adduced, we are confident that we have ſhown him to be a very decided exception to the character which moſt of his predeceſſors have too juſtly fixed on Iriſh antiquaries, and a writer after whom they would do well to copy.

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Art. LIII. *Mes Souvenirs de Vingt Ans de Séjour a Berlin; ou Frédéric le Grand, Sa Famille, &c. Par Dieudonné Thiébault.* Paris. An. xii.

*Recollections of Twenty Years Abode in Berlin; or, Frederic the Great, his Family, Court, Government, Academy, Schools, and his Literary and Philoſophical Friends. By Deodatus Thiébault, of the Royal Academy of Berlin, &c.* 8vo. Five volumes. Paris. Buiſſon, 1804.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been written of this remarkable Prince, the preſent work will ſtill be found to excite an uncommon degree of intereſt. Not that any

new light is thrown on the character of Frederic: the world already knew him to be a Prince by nature ſagacious, and by art cultivated to the utmoſt of conſummate military talents; not leſs hardy in ſpeculation on moral and religious ſubjects than in the field of battle; a thorough deſpiſer of mankind, whom he regarded as little better than machines; firm and unſhaken in his reſolutions, and pertinacious in the ſchemes of his unmeaſurable ambition. But M. Thiebault, from his frequent opportunities of converſing with him, and from his admirable method of narrating converſations (in which he is not exceeded by Boſwell himſelf), has brought us to a cloſe and very agreeable intimacy with this accompliſhed Prince.

M. Thiebault is a French ſçavant, who was recommended by D'Alembert to the King of Pruſſia, to fill up a vacancy in the Academy at Berlin, where he arrived in 1765. His talents enſured him a gracious reception from the Monarch; and, during the eighteen years that he remained at Berlin, he had frequently interviews with the King of two and three hours duration, many of which he has minutely detailed; and in moſt of theſe, extraordinary acuteneſs appears on the ſide of the Monarch, and much good ſenſe, with a becoming reſerve, on the part of M. Thiebault.

The only way in which we can make our readers acquainted with this work, which has made a great impreſſion in France, and which doubtleſs will ſoon appear in this country in an Engliſh dreſs, is by laying before them extracts of ſuch parts as can, with the leaſt difficulty, be detached from the whole.

In their firſt interview, the converſation happening to turn on Rouſſeau, the King obſerved, "Oh! celui-là eſt un fou," ſo petulantly, that our author was induced afterwards to inquire the reaſon of M. le Catt, who introduced him to the Royal preſence. M. le Catt replied;

"Cette vivacité, tient à une anecdote récente que je vais vous conter. Il y a quelques mois qui milord Marſhal, ami de J. J. Rouſſeau, paroiſſant affligé des perſécutions que le philoſophe de Genève éprouve, même en Suiſſe et à Neufchâtel, dont ce milord eſt gouverneur, le roi lui dit: Eh bien! écrivez à votre ami, que s'il veut venir dans mes Etats, je lui offre un aſile aſſuré et une penſion de deux mille francs. Nous lui donnerons à Panckow, contre les jardins de Schonhauſen, et à une lieue de Berlin, une maiſon ſuffiſante avec jardin et pré; de manière qu'il aura de quoi nourrir une vache, entretenir quelques volailles, et ſe fournir de légumes: il vivra là ſans inquiétude et ſans beſoins: ſa ſolitude ſera complète; de ſon jardin, il ſera la maître d'aller s'enfoncer dans les boſquets de Schonhauſen, où la reine ne paſſe que quelques mois de l'été. Milord Marſhal, enchanté de ce plan, n'eut rien de plus preſſé que d'aller faire ſa lettre, qu'il vint montrer au roi, avant de

de la faire partir. Le roi prit la plume, et y ajouta ces mots .... venez, mon cher Rouſſeau : je vous offre maiſon, penſion, et liberté. Peu de temps après, vint la réponſe conçue en ces termes ....Votre majeſté m'offre un aſile, et m'y promet la liberté ! Mais vous avez une épée, et vous êtes roi ! Vous m'offrez une penſion, à moi qui n'ai rien fait pour vous? Mais en avez-vous donné à tous les braves gens qui ont perdu bras ou jambes à vous ſervir? ...Vous concevez que d'après cette lettre, le roi ne peut retrouver ce nom ſur ſon chemin, ſans y joindre le mot que vous avez entendu, et qui fut auſſi, dans le temps, celui par lequel il termina cette négociation." (p. 15—17.)

Frederic had the ſame reſtleſs anxiety about religion that is obſervable in moſt ſceptics. Seldom do they repoſe in a calm and tranquil conviction on this moſt intereſting of all ſubjects; but are conſtantly teaſing all thoſe who come near them to liſten to their convincing arguments, flattering themſelves that every convert they make is a freſh proof of the truth of their opinions.

" Je me rappelle à ce ſujet qu'un de ſes plus braves, plus dévoués et plus adroits, ou plus heureux généraux, qui bon catholique romain, ne chargeoit jamais l'ennemi, ſans faire le ſigne de la croix en l'air et avec ſon ſabre, ayant été une ſeule fois plaiſanté ſur cette pratique par le roi, lui impoſa ſilence, et s'en fit reſpecter pour la ſuite, en lui diſant. ' Sire, ne vous mêlez pas de cela ; ce ſont des choſes qui ne tiennent pas à votre ſervice, qui n'y peuvent nuire, et ne vous regardent point. Pourvu que je faſſe bien mon devoir, et que je vous ſerve avec zèle, que vous importent mes pratiques de dévotion, et que gagneriez-vous à tourner en ridicule vos plus fidèles ſerviteurs?" (p. 45—46.)

Very ſoon after admitting M. Thiebault to a confidential intercourſe, Frederic took pains to diſcover what were his religious ſentiments: but not all the conſummate addreſs which the king ſo well knew how to uſe could overcome the prudent reſerve under which M. Thiebault intrenched himſelf; and the king remained as ignorant of our author's religion as the readers of his work are: if he be a Chriſtian, we blame his reſerve in both inſtances. In one of theſe converſations, the king, in order to produce a ſimilar unreſervedneſs on the part of M. Thiebault, made an avowal of his own ſentiments on the ſubject of religion.

" Je crois bien, me diſoit-il un jour qu'il y a un Dieu ; mais je ne me figure pas qu'il ſe mette en peine des individus. Que ſont à ſes yeux, même les hommes, la plus noble de toutes les eſpèces de créatures que nous connoiſſions? Infiniment moins que les fourmis ne ſont par rapport à nous. Eh! comment peut-on s'imaginer que Dieu, dans le ſein de ſa gloire, va diriger et ſurveiller, compter et récompenſer ou punir toutes les actions, et juſqu'aux plus ſimples

mouvemens ou penſées de tant de millions d'êtres auſſi mépriſables? En vérité, ce ſeroit un beau ſouci bien digne de lui et bien propre à faire ſon bonheur ineffable! Je me perſuade donc que Dieu, ſuprême ordonnateur de tous les mondes, a établi les lois phyſiques qui s'y obſervent, et les maintient par ſa volonté, telles qu'il les a conçues, et conformément à la nature de la matière; et que de même il a préordonné et voulu les eſpèces d'êtres animés ou vivans qui parviennent à notre connoiſſance; mais que ſe bornant à donner l'exiſtence aux eſpèces, et enſuite à les conſerver, il abandonne au jeu des événemens, les individus dont il ſe met fort peu en peine. Quant à la punition des fautes que les hommes peuvent commettre, ou à la récompenſe des bonnes œuvres qu'il peuvent pratiquer, il n'a pas beſoin de préparer les joies d'un paradis que nous ne pouvons concevoir, ou les chaudières d'un enfer que nous ne concevons pas mieux, et que le ſens commun déſavoue comme abſurde d'une part, et comme transformant Dieu en diable de l'autre part; pour punir les coupables et récompenſer les gens de bien, n'eſt-ce pas aſſez des lois civiles et phyſiques, et de notre propre conſcience?" (p. 52—53.)

To this Mr. Thiebault replied nothing, but we ſhall anſwer that they are not ſufficient. In how many ways may a man commit ſin without the poſſibility of civil laws, however well inſtituted, taking cognizance of his offence; much leſs deterring him from a repetition of them? the operation of phyſical laws in reſtraining men from ſin can only apply to ſuch ſins as are puniſhed by loſs of health, namely, the various kinds of intemperance; but every day's experience ſhows how little men are deterred from preſent enjoyment, by the dread of future and remote conſequences. One deciſive anſwer may be made to the queſtions of the royal ſophiſt: if a great portion of mankind be not deterred from the commiſſion of ſin by the dread of human laws, by the probability of future diſeaſe, by the ſtings of their conſcience, and by the dread of loſing future happineſs and incurring future miſery;—how can it be conceived that a part of theſe motives alone will ſuffice, when the whole of them combined, ſo often fail of producing the effect in queſtion!

On another occaſion the King ſaid to M. Thiebault,

"Je ne ſais, ſi Dieu a créé le monde, ou ſi le monde eſt éternel; je doute même que l'on puiſſe jamais démontrer l'un ou l'autre de ces deux ſyſtèmes. Mais j'éprouve, même malgré moi, une répugnance invincible à me repréſenter le fait de la création. On nous peint Dieu comme exiſtant de toute éternité, exiſtant tout ſeul, ne s'ennuyant pas de ſa ſolitude et de ſon inaction, parce qu'il ſe ſuffit à lui-même; et cependant, voilà que ce Dieu, au beau milieu de ſon éternité, a la fantaiſie de créer cet univers immenſe, incommenſurable, et preſque infini en ce que nous voyons, ſans compter tout ce que nous ne pouvons pas voir! Et pour donner ainſi une exiſtence réelle à tout, lorſque

lorſque rien n'exiſtoit que Dieu, il n'a fallu qu'un ſeul acte de ſa volonté! Et Dieu a été une éternité ſans donner la vie aux êtres penſans, lorſqu'il lui en coûtoit ſi peu pour le faire, et ſans ſe donner à lui-même le ſpectacle magnifique qui lui retrace ſi bien ſa puiſſance! Monſieur, voilà deux choſes que révoltent également ma raiſon: ce qui n'étoit pas, ſortant tout-à coup du néant; et Dieu le voulant ainſi dans le cours de ſon éternité, ſans avoir eu de motifs ſuffiſans pour le vouloir plutôt! Je conviens que je ne m'accoutume pas plus à croire que cette matière brute, inerte et vile que je foule aux pieds, partage le privilége d'être éternelle, et par conſéquent d'être en quelque ſorte divine. Mais enfin, j'en ſuis encore moins révolté que des deux autres articles que je viens de vous indiquer. Il eſt poſſible que je me trompe, monſieur; mais obligé de choiſir entre deux opinions qui me paroiſſent abſurdes à quelques égards, je me décide pour celle dont ma raiſon eſt moins effarouchée, et je m'en tiens, par ce ſeul motif, à celle qui me dit que le monde eſt éternel comme Dieu, et que Dieu en eſt l'intelligence, ou, ſi vous voulez, la puiſſance coordonnatrice et mouvante." (p. 53—55.)

Add to this, that he did not believe in the future exiſtence of man, and we have the whole of the melancholy picture of Frederic's irreligion. He believed in what he acknowledged to be an abſurdity, namely, the eternal exiſtence of periſhable matter, becauſe, truly, God muſt have been in a ſtate of ſolitude before the creation of this world, and becauſe he cannot conceive how the world was created! But who told him that God had not created an infinite ſucceſſion of worlds before the preſent? As to his not comprehending how *that which did not before exiſt ſhould emerge inſtantaneouſly out of nothing*, we ſhould be glad to know, whether he comprehended how an acorn becomes an oak, how a maggot becomes a butterfly, how an egg becomes an eagle! nothing can exceed the preſumption of thoſe who ſay that a thing is impoſſible becauſe they cannot comprehend it. Tell a *philoſophe* who had reſided all his life in a hot climate, that in other countries water is at times converted into a ſolid maſs capable of ſupporting conſiderable weights, and he will reply, "I cannot comprehend it, and it is therefore impoſſible;" but ice does not the leſs exiſt becauſe he diſbelieves it.

M. Thiebault afterwards recounts ſome of the pleaſantries in which Frederic indulged himſelf, on the ſubject of religion, informing his readers that he has ſelected the moſt moderate, and ſuch as decency permits him to lay before the public. Our ſenſe of decency does not permit us to ſelect any of theſe blaſphemies for the public eye. We admire the good ſenſe of the young Prince William of Brunſwick, who, when his uncle was endeavouring to inſtil his notions into his mind, obſerved

to him, that though he did not wonder at ſome philoſophers profeſſing to be unbelievers, he was aſtoniſhed that a Monarch ſhould diſcloſe ſuch ſentiments.

Our author was employed by Frederic to inſpect his literary productions; and, in the performance of this function, very narrowly eſcaped the fate of Gil Blas with the Archbiſhop of Grenada. In looking over a diſcourſe "On the utility of Sciences and Arts to a State," M. Thiebault diſcovered, what he deemed a ſoleciſm, and had the honeſty not to conceal it from the King.

"Le roi prétendit que l'uſage autoriſoit la manière de parler que je condamnois: il prétendit enſuite que c'étoit une tournure oratoire, ſur laquelle les règles de grammaire ne devoient point étendre leurs droits: il prétendit encore, que de bons auteurs s'en étoient ſervis, et que tous les jours on s'énonçoit de même: enfin, ne pouvant me vaincre, et voyant que j'avois réponſe à tout, il prit de l'humeur; et bientôt, cédant à un mouvement d'impatience qu'il ne cherche ni à modérer, ni à diſſimuler, il ſaiſit une plume avec avidité, et me dit: 'Eh bien, il n'y qu'à remplacer cette phraſe par telle autre.' Et, à l'inſtant même, il ſe mit à écrire ſa nouvelle phraſe. Ce qu'il y eut en ceci de très-fâcheux et de très-embarraſſant pour moi, c'eſt que ſa nouvelle phraſe ne valoit pas la première, pour le fond de la penſée, et qu'elle renfermoit également un ſoléciſme, qui, à la vérité, étoit d'une autre eſpèce que le premier, mais qui n'en étoit ni moins ſenſible, ni plus tolérable. Je vis le danger qui me menaçoit, et je réſolus de le braver, par cette ſeule raiſon que c'eût été me rendre trop coupable envers lui, que de l'expoſer à la critique de toute l'Europe, pour n'avoir pas eu le courage de faire mon devoir et de lui dire la vérité. J'obſervai donc, que le diſcours ne gagneroit rien à la ſubſtitution de la ſeconde penſée miſe à la place de la première; et qu'il y auroit également une faute contre la langue, faute que j'indiquai, et que j'aſſurai ne devoir pas être plus pardonnée que l'autre. Cette nouvelle critique le mit aux champs: je le vis devenir ſubitement rouge de colère, les yeux enflammés, l'air dur et menaçant, et tout la phyſionomie annonçant un homme diſpoſé à prendre un parte violent. Il rejeta la plume à côté de l'encrier, en diſant: 'Il n'y a donc qu'à laiſſer la phraſe comme elle eſt.' Je ſuis perſuadé qu'il n'a jamais été plus hors de lui, lorſqu'il lui eſt arrivé de s'oublier juſqu'à donner des coups de bottes dans les jambes: je ne craignois pas cependant qu'il m'en donnât; ma qualité d'étranger me raſſuroit, vu qu'il ne s'eſt jamais abandonné à cette vivacité qu'envers quelques-uns de ſes ſujets. Mais je m'attendois à être bruſquement renvoyé, pour ne jamais plus être rappelé auprès de lui; ſituation pénible, dans laquelle toutefois je conſervai la tranquillité et le calme de l'ame, fondé ſur cette penſée, que je faiſois mon devoir; il ne me fut donc pas difficile de prendre la réſolution que je pris, celle de me juſtifier avant d'être congédié, et de me montrer tel que j'étois. Pour cela, tout mon extérieur indiqua combien je me renfermois dans ce que les convenances pouvoient exiger de moi:

moi: j'eus l'air attriſté et non abattu: ma voix fut celle d'un homme pénétré, mais inflexible; et ce fut en parlant lentement, d'un ton bas et concentré, les yeux fixés ſur le parquet devant mes pieds, et tout le corps dans une attitude ſimple, modeſte et immobile, que je lui dis: 'Je conjure très-humblement et très inſtamment votre majeſté, ſire, de vouloir bien conſidérer que je n'ai d'état et d'exiſtence pour moi et ma famille, que par elle. C'eſt de vos bontés, ſire, que je tiens tout ce que j'ai, des devoirs honorables à remplir; un état honnête, et les moyens de mériter l'eſtime publique! Daignez, ſire, ne pas me refuſer la juſtice de croire que jamais ces faits ne ſortent de ma mémoire! Ils ſont encore plus profondément gravés dans mon cœur! Mais, par où puis-je plus dignement témoigner mon reſpect, ma reconnoiſſance et mon dévouement, que par ma fidélité à ne dire à votre majeſté que ce qui me paroît être vrai? Vous dire autre choſe que la vérité, ſire, ſeroit de ma part une trahiſon! vous la diſſimuler par crainte, ce ſeroit une offenſe! la taire dans les occaſions où elle peut intéreſſer votre majeſté, ce ſeroit une infidélité! Et quelle autre marque de reſpect peut être digne de votre majeſté, et partir d'une ame honnête, que celle que eſt d'accord en tout avec la vérité? Je me regarderois comme ne méritant plus de vivre, ſi j'avois d'autres principes que ceux-la! Et ce n'eſt qu'en les ſuivant toujours, que je penſe pouvoir juſtifier de ma part, les bontés dont votre majeſté m'a tant honoré! Il eſt bien certain qu'en penſant de la ſorte, je n'ai jamais pu me permettre de lui propoſer avec légèreté, ce que j'oſois lui dire: je n'ai rien avancé dans ces circonſtances, que je n'y aie mûrement réfléchi: je n'ai rien affirmé que je n'aie eu les plus grandes autorités en faveur de mon opinion. Aujourd'hui, ſire, j'ai conſidéré que ce diſcours étoit deſtiné à la plus grande publicité; et je n'ai parlé que d'après les auteurs les plus reſpectés: je puis confirmer tout ce que j'ai dit, par les déciſions de tous ceux qui ont écrit ſur la langue françaiſe: je ne ſuis que leur organe; et je ſens en mon ame, qu'en ce moment, je donne à votre majeſté, par ma perſévérance même, une preuve bien ſûre de tout mon reſpect et de mon véritable dévouement pour ſa perſonne ſacrée.'

"Les deux ou trois minutes que je mis à lui dire ce qui précède, lui donnèrent le temps de ſe calmer: Il m'écouta comme il ſavoit écouter quand il le vouloit, c'eſt-à-dire, avec une extrême attention, et ſans me quitter des yeux. Lorſque je fus arrivé à mes dernières phraſes, ſa main alla reprendre ſa plume, comme machinalement, et ſans aucun autre dérangement dans ſon attitude; de ſorte qu'à l'inſtant où je ceſſai de parler, il me dit d'un air tout-à-fait remis et poſé: 'Eh bien, comment voulez-vous que cette phraſe ſoit rédigée?' Je la lui dictai telle que je l'avois propoſée dans mes remarques, et il l'écrivit ſans aucune répugnance." (p. 100—106.)

Here was a victory more glorious than Frederic ever attained over his enemies—a victory over himſelf!

M. Thiebault was a long time in doubt whether Frederic poſſeſſed ſenſibility of ſoul; but an interview, which he had

with him after the death of his young nephew, Prince Henry, in which, after fruitleſs attempts to ſuppreſs it, the king diſplayed the moſt poignant grief, put an end to his doubts.—Cold and ſceptical as he was in his general character, he yet poſſeſſed in a very eminent degree the affections of the heart. For his brothers and ſiſters he, on all occaſions, manifeſted the greateſt affection; for the memory of his mother he never failed to diſcover a reverence the moſt tender and filial; and of his father, who had always treated him with an unrelenting ſeverity, he never ſpoke but in terms of reſpect. The cauſe of his father's diſlike to him was, that in his youth Frederic manifeſted no predilection for the military art, but was paſſionately devoted to literary purſuits and the ſtudy of the fine arts. In muſic he took great delight, and he uſed to accompany on his flute a young woman of Potzdam, who, unfortunately for herſelf, had learnt to play on the harpſichord. This coming to the ears of William I. he cauſed this unfortunate girl to be arreſted, and had her publicly whipped through the ſtreets of Potzdam, deeming that this diſgrace would prevent any farther intercourſe between his ſon and her, which he groundleſsly feared might end in a ſerious attachment. When Frederic came to the throne he ſettled a penſion of one hundred and fifty rixdollars on this unfortunate girl, who had married a carrier of Berlin.

Still more atrocious was the conduct of William towards his ſon on account of his attachment to an Engliſh princeſs, Anne, the ſame who afterwards eſpouſed the Stadtholder, and became the mother of the laſt Stadtholder of Holland.—This attachment was at firſt ſanctioned by William, but afterwards, actuated by ſome crooked motives of policy, he thought proper to forbid it. Frederic had only ſeen the princeſs once, but this interview, followed by a correſpondence in which he found inexpreſſible charms, had produced on his ſide an attachment too ſerious to yield to the commands even of a father. His mother and his ſiſters were the confidantes of his paſſion, which went to ſuch lengths that he formed the project of eſcaping from Berlin, of flying to his miſtreſs in London, and of not returning to Pruſſia till the forgiveneſs, or death of his father. This project, which was confided to two young men, Keith and the Baron de Catt, was diſcovered by William at the moment of its execution. The young prince was arreſted after he had actually left his father's palace: Keith had the good fortune to effect his eſcape into Portugal; but the Baron, like the prince, was made a priſoner. William formed the horrid reſolution of cauſing his ſon to expire on the ſcaffold. He had him tried by a Court Martial, con-

fifting of a certain number of generals, who fortunately chofe for their prefident the prince of Anhalt-Deffau. Previoufly to taking the opinions of the court, this formidable prefident declared that upon his honour and confcience the accufed perfon did not deferve death, and that no one among them had a right to condemn him: then drawing his great fabre, he fwore that he would cut off the ears of any one who fhould expreſs an opinion different from his. The prince was unanimoufly acquitted. William, rendered furious by this deciſion, gave orders for another court-martial to be formed, and Frederic would infallibly have periſhed had not the Auſtrian ambaſſador interfered by a declaration that the heir of the Pruſſian monarchy was under the ſafeguard of the Germanic conſtitution. The furious monarch was compelled to yield, but revenged himſelf by the infliction of a puniſhment more cruel than death itſelf. He ordered his ſon to be ignominiouſly ſtripped of his uniform, and then ſent cloſe priſoner to Cuſtrin, in Pomerania, whither the unfortunate de Catt was likewiſe marched, with his hands tied behind his back. He had previouſly been degraded from his military rank, and condemned to be beheaded in the preſence of the prince for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered. A ſcaffold was raiſed in front of the fortreſs where the prince was confined, on a level with and cloſe to the window of his apartment. By main force the prince was compelled to ſtand at this window, in order that he might be made to partake, in ſome meaſure, of the puniſhment of his friend. When De Catt aſcended the ſcaffold, Frederic, in a tranſport of grief and horror, uttered a penetrating cry—my friend! my friend! and fell ſenſeleſs on the floor of his chamber. They with difficulty reſtored him to life, and long after he continued to experience the moſt bitter anguiſh for the tragical fate of his friend.

We are ſorry to add, that connected with his impriſonment at Cuſtrin is an anecdote, which reflects no credit on his character. His impriſonment, at firſt ſevere, became by degrees milder, and he had a frequent intercourſe with the family of Wréch, who inhabited a neighbouring manſion. The young ladies of this family had conſiderable muſical talents, and every evening Frederic had the pleaſure of aſſiſting at their concerts.

" Cette même maiſon le fournit de livres, de bougies, et même d'argent; car quoique la famille fût nombreuſe, et que l'éducation de tant d'enfans dût coûter beaucoup, on ſut néanmoins ſe géner aſſez pour que ce prince y trouvât ce qu'il deſiroit, ſans qu'il pût ſe douter du moindre embarras. Les prêts ſucceſſifs qu'on lui fit, montoient à l'époque de ſon rappel, à plus de ſix mille reiſdallers, que l'on m'a aſſuré n'avoir jamais été rembourſés.

" Mais

" Mais quand même Frédéric auroit payé cette dette, il feroit encore vrai de dire que les Wréch n'ont pas eu à ſe louer des ſervices qu'ils lui ont rendus: en effet, leur famille a été publiquement connue comme étant du nombre de celles qui durant tout ſon règne, ont paru être dans une ſorte de diſgrace: jamais ils ne les a accueillis: il ne leur a accordé aucune faveur, non plus qu'aux parens de l'aimable et malheureux de Catt." (p. 187, 188.)

We cannot admit of M. Thiebault's apology for this black ingratitude,—that Frederic being king ought to act like a king, and puniſh thoſe who had acted contrary to his father's will to ſerve him. This is making a king an artificial being beyond all bounds of reaſon.

The termination of Frederic's impriſonment was very ſudden, and was principally owing to the interceſſion of his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Brunſwick, who paid a viſit to her father after her brother had been confined rather more than a year.—William, without appearing to conſent, ſent privately for his ſon, and placed him in his great coat behind his mother's chair, who was playing at cards. It was a touching ſcene when the queen turned her head and beheld her ſon. He was, however, compelled to yield to his father's will, and obliged to marry a daughter of the Brunſwick family; but his conſtancy to his firſt love was unſhaken, and nothing could prevail on him to conſummate his marriage. This continence has been imputed to a very unworthy motive; but, in our opinion, M. Thiebault has vindicated the memory of Frederic from this unmerited reproach. He made ſtill farther progreſs in the good graces of William, by being found by him at Rheinſberg, on a ſudden viſit, exerciſing his regiment: it is ſaid that though the father ſuppoſed he had ſurpriſed his ſon, the latter had a ſecret notice of the viſit, and took his meaſures accordingly.

After Frederic had aſcended the throne he travelled *incognito* into other countries, and many entertaining anecdotes of his adventures are preſented to us in the preſent work. He even went as far as Straſburgh in his way to Paris, but being diſcovered there, he made a precipitate retreat.

" Lorſqu'il couroit ainſi ſur la rive droite du Rhin, pour regagner ſes Etats, il aperçut à une bonne diſtance, une chaiſe ouverte qui venoit à lui; et à l'aide de ſa lunette, il y reconnut un abbé français, homme d'eſprit, avec lequel il avoit ſouvent cauſé à Berlin, et qu'il y avoit laiſſé en partant. Frédéric s'étoit ſouvent amuſé à vouloir engager cet abbé à ſe faire recevoir franc-maçon, uniquement parce qu'il lui paroiſſoit plaiſant d'amener un bon prêtre catholique à braver une excommunication du pape: l'abbé, qui peut être l'avoit deviné, avoit ſu s'en défendre avec autant de fermeté

meté que d'adreſſe. La même lunette qui ſur les bords du Rhin, apprit au roi que c'étoit lui qui étoit dans la chaiſe de poſte, indiqua également qu'il étoit profondément endormi; ſur quoi le premier fit à l'inſtant arrêter ſa voiture, en deſcendit un bon piſtolet à la main; et cria au dernier, quand celui-ci fut près de lui: *Fais-toi franc-maçon, ou meurs.* On peut juger de la ſurpriſe de ce prêtre, qui bien aſſuré que le roi de Pruſſe étoit en Weſtphalie, le trouve en ſe réveillant en ſurſaut, aux portes de Straſbourg! Ne ſachant ſi c'étoit une illuſion, ou une viſion du diable, effrayé et troublé, ſon premier mouvement fut de répondre: *Ah, sire! tout ce qu'il vous plaira; mais ne me tuez pas!* Le roi ſe moqua de ſa peur, le jugea trop poltron pour mériter jamais le titre de *frère*, et lui dit adieu après l'avoir bien plaiſanté." (p. 213, 214.)

During the war of ſeven years he made another journey *incognito*, and had the extreme imprudence to put himſelf in the power of Count Hoditz, a ſubject of the Empreſs Queen. The very ſingular adventures and eccentric character of this Count are infinitely too long for inſertion in our work, but will afford great amuſement to the reader, being a romance of real life, fully equal to the moſt-highly coloured pictures of fancy. It was in his retreat from the ſiege of Olmutz, when he was preſſed on all ſides by enemies, and when the detention of his perſon would have changed once more his kingdom into an electorate, that he was guilty of this aſtoniſhing imprudence. Count Hoditz diſcovered him through his diſguiſe, but deeming hoſpitality a greater virtue than loyalty, ſuffered him to go away unmoleſted.

A Pruſſian huſſar had been rewarded by being raiſed to the poſt of one of the king's valets de chambre, and on account of a ſtriking inſtance of filial attachment which he had diſplayed, had been loaded with marks of the royal favour.

"Frédéric ne tarda pas long-temps à être lui-même juſtement récompenſé des bontés qu'il avoit pour ce brave domeſtique. Attaqué d'un accès de goutte très-violent, il fit appeler ſon médecin, qui lui trouva une fièvre très-ardente, une grande ſéchereſſe, ſans aucune diſpoſition à tranſpirer. Le médecin jugea qu'il étoit urgent de provoquer la tranſpiration, et voulut ordonner quelque remède propre à produire cet effet; mais Frédéric avoit, dirai-je la foibleſſe ou la manie de tant de grands capitaines, qui, comme Mithridate, s'imaginant être de fort habiles gens en médecine; il voulut ſavoir ce qu'on alloit lui ordonner, et il rejeta tout ce que le médecin put lui propoſer, et même il finit par le renvoyer, en lui diſant qu'il n'étoit qu'un âne. Le médecin arrivé à l'antichambre, déclara aux valets-de-pied que le roi étoit très-mal; qu'il étoit très-important de le faire tranſpirer; mais que ce monarque ne vouloit aucun des remèdes qui conviennent dans cet état; que même il l'avoit maltraité de paroles; que lui médecin, ne ſongeant qu'à

qu'à remplir ſon devoir, et qu'à chercher les moyens de conſerver les jours d'un ſi grand roi, alloit écrire et leur laiſſer l'ordonnance néceſſaire; que ce ſeroit enſuite à eux à faire préparer la potion qu'il indiqueroit, et à obtenir du roi qu'il la prît; qu'ils devoient être bien aſſurés que jamais ils n'avoient eu de devoir plus ſacré à remplir, et qu'il y alloit de la vie de leur maître; et qu'enfin, après avoir fait avaler la potion, il falloit à tout prix empêcher le malade de ſe découvrir, et le bien envelopper de couvertures, juſqu'à ce qu'il eût bien ſué. Les domeſtiques délibérant entr'eux, jugèrent que le jeune huſſard étoit celui qui pourroit plus facilement flécher leur maître. Il fut donc chargé de veiller le roi la nuit ſuivante; commiſſion qu'il accepta, non ſans crainte, mais ſans répugnance et même avec dévoûment, vu le puiſſant intérêt qui les animoit tous. La potion fut apportée vers les dix heures du ſoir; le jeune homme entra dans la chambre à coucher du roi, la tenant à la main.—'Qu'avez-vous là? lui dit le roi.—Sire, c'eſt une potion qui, ſelon le médecin, eſt néceſſaire pour vous guérir.—Je n'en veux point, jetez-la au feu.—Mais, ſire, ſi elle eſt néceſſaire?—Je n'en veux point.—Sire, le médecin nous a ordonné de vous la préſenter.—Le médecin eſt un âne; je n'en veux point.—Helas! ſire, il nous a déclaré qu'il eſt néceſſaire que vous la preniez.—C'eſt un âne; je ne la prendrai point.—Il nous a dit que ſans cela vous n'auriez point la tranſpiration qu'il faut pour vous guérir.—Il ne fait ce qu'il dit; jetez cela au feu, et laiſſez-moi tranquille.—Si pourtant notre devoir eſt de ſupplier votre majeſté de la prendre?—Mon enfant, vous me fatiguez inutilement: retirez-vous, et laiſſez-moi tranquille.—Ah! comment donc faire, s'il eſt important que vouz preniez ce remède? Celui qui l'a ordonné, n'eſt-il pas médecin, et attaché à votre majeſté?—Vous m'ennuyez, allez vous-en.—Sire, il a dit qu'il y alloit de votre conſervation.—C'est un âne; je vous ordonne de vous retirer et de me laiſſer tranquille.—Et notre devoir ne nous oblige-t-il pas de ſupplier votre majeſté de prendre un remède qui peut la guérir?' Le roi ſe mit enfin en colère; il jura, ordonna, envoya au diable, et menaça. Le jeune homme, de ſon côté, ayant toujours la potion à la main, pria, ſollicita, conjura, ſe mit à genoux, pleura à chaudes larmes, déclara ſe ſoumettre à tout, pourvu qu'il pût contribuer à ſauver ſa majeſté, et fut enfin inébranlable. Cette lutte dura juſqu'après minuit, que le roi fatigué et comme épuiſé, ſe détermina à prendre la potion pour ſe débarraſſer de tant d'importunités, et avoir quelque repos. Mais quelque temps après, il ſurvint un nouveau combat entre le maître et le ſerviteur. Le remède agit, et excita dans tout le corps du monarque, une chaleur brûlante et difficile à ſupporter; le roi voulut ſe découvrir, et le valet-de pied ne le voulut pas. Si celui-là rejetoit une couverture, celui-ci ſe hâtoit de la replacer; ſi le premier vouloit ſeulement ſortir un bras de dedans ſon lit, le ſecond s'empreſſoit de l'envelopper le mieux qu'il pouvoit, toujours priant, conjurant, demandant pardon, et en ſe cramponant en quelque ſorte ſur le lit du malade, qui ſe fâchoit, juroit, et menaçoit en vain. Ce nouveau combat dura juſque vers trois à quatre heures du

du matin, où enfin la tranſpiration s'établit. Alors le roi moins tourmenté redevint plus calme, et ſentit que le médecin et le ſerviteur avoient eu raiſon. Auſſi dit-il en ce moment à ce dernier: "Mon enfant, je n'ai plus beſoin de vous. La tranſpiration eſt venue, je ne ſens plus cette chaleur violente qui m'agitoit; je vous promets que je ne me découvrirai plus; ſoyez-en ſûr, et allez prendre du repos, car vous devez être bien fatigué." Le domeſtique fit ſemblant d'obéir, et ſe retira dans un coin, d'où, ſans être aperçu, il continua de ſurveiller ſon maître, juſqu'à ce que celui-ci ſe fût endormi. Quand le jour fut venu, le roi ſe trouva beaucoup mieux; il ſe leva, et fit entrer ſon jeune gardien, auquel il dit: "Mon enfant, vous êtes un brave garçon: vous faites bien votre devoir, et je ſuis fort content de vous; vous m'avez ſervi cette nuit avec beaucoup de zèle. Tenez, voilà cinquante ducats, que je vous donne pour les envoyer à vos parens." (p. 296—300.)

Notwithſtanding his numerous other occupations, Frederic purſued his ſtudies with unabated ardour. But what cannot a man find time to do who riſes regularly at four o'clock in the morning. This practice he adopted when he came to the throne. The firſt morning or two it was in vain that his ſervants called him at four o'clock, for he was naturally a great ſleeper: when they awakened him, he begged their permiſſion to let him ſleep a little longer, and afterwards ſcolded them for their indulgence. He at length had recourſe to an efficacious remedy: he commanded one of his ſervants, under pain of being made a ſoldier for life, to come to him every morning at four o'clock and to apply a wet napkin to his face. This good habit was rigidly adhered to till he was upwards of ſixty years old. The following is the method he obſerved in his reading: he divided the books he meant to read into two claſſes; the firſt was compoſed of thoſe books which he meant to read over and over again, and to make himſelf perfectly maſter of: the ſecond contained ſuch as he meant only to peruſe in a curſory manner. Of both claſſes he had no leſs than five different collections, all of the ſame books, namely, one at Potzdam, another at Sansſouci, at Berlin, at Charlottenburgh, and at Breſlaw; ſo that, however he changed his reſidence, his courſe of reading was not interrupted. It was certainly well worthy of royal munificence to purchaſe five copies of every work, but a private individual may obtain the ſame end —uninterrupted reading—in a much cheaper way, by merely carrying a few books about with him. The books which Frederic delighted to ſtudy were the following: Homer, Plato, Demoſthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Salluſt, Cæſar, Livy, Tacitus, the philoſophical works of Seneca, Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Boſſuet,

Boſſuet, Flechier, Telemachus, D'Agueſſeau, Monteſquieu, Bayle, Henault, Pfeffel, and many parts of Voltaire. The ancient authors he knew only through the medium of French tranſlations, but he had the vanity of wiſhing to be thought converſant in the ancient languages; for, in a viſit to Erneſti at Leipſic, the converſation turned wholly on them, and, at taking leave, he exclaimed, "*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas!*"—"Ah, my God!" exclaimed the good old man, "how much more I ſhould have been at my eaſe had I known he could talk Latin!" But Frederic only ventured to quote theſe words, a la mode de Parthes, when he was retreating.

M. Thiebault quitted Berlin about two years before the death of the king, but he gives his readers ſome anecdotes, which he ſays are authentic, of the decay and death of this great man. When the king perceived that nature was ſinking, he uſed every means to conceal the decay from thoſe who ſurrounded him. It is aſſerted that when he had to appear in public and found himſelf look pale, he never failed to uſe rouge, and that when he felt his ſpirits fail, he had recourſe to ſtimulant and reſtorative lozenges. His ſcepticiſm on the ſubject of religion appears to have remained unſhaken by the approaches of death. To the very laſt he was his own miniſter; and, a very few minutes before his death, he attempted to ſign a letter to the French ambaſſador, but his ſight and his hand failed him, and his ſignature was only a blot of ink. M. Hertzberg, his old and faithful ſervant, paſſed the night by his bed-ſide and received his laſt breath. The new king, Frederic William, came into the room about three in the morning and found M. Hertzberg diſſolved in tears. Touched at the ſpectacle, he took off the emblem of the order of the Black Eagle, which he wore round his neck, and on the ſpot inveſted Hertzberg with it.

The firſt volume of M. Thiebault's work ends with an eulogy on Frederic. In our ſubſequent numbers we ſhall reſume this highly intereſting publication.

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ART. LIV. *Sketches on the intrinſic Strength, Military and Naval Force of France and Ruſſia; with Remarks on their preſent Connection, political Influence, and future Projects. In two Parts. Part I.* Hague 1803. London, ſold by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall. 12s.

THE political writers of former times ſeem to have confined their enquiries to the diſcuſſion of paſt events, or abſtract

abſtract queſtions, and the formation of general maxims: while ſome few, among whom may be enumerated the illuſtrious names of Plato, Harrington, and More, have exerciſed their ingenuity, in what may not improperly be called the poetry of politics; in deviſing inſtitutions of imaginary empires, and ſchemes, which could never be carried into execution, except the paſſions, the propenſities, and the genius of mankind were to undergo a complete alteration. But the ſpirit of diplomatic intrigue, which is now converted into a regular mode of peaceable hoſtility*; and the experience which the accumulating maſs of hiſtorical details afford, have cauſed this department of knowledge to aſſume a wider range. The convulſions which Europe has lately undergone, have opened an ample field for political conjecture; and accordingly the preſent age has been fertile in the ſpeculations of writers, who expatiate in the boundleſs regions of futurity, and attempt to foretel the revolutions and changes which the various nations of the earth will ſuffer or effect. Among theſe muſt be ranked the preſent publication, which in the intereſt and importance of its ſubject, in acuteneſs of remark, and energy of diction, has perhaps been equalled by few that have come under examination during the courſe of our critical labours. It appears however in rather a queſtionable ſhape, ſince no mention is made either of the name, ſituation, or country of the author, or of the ſources whence he draws his information; though he inſiſts ſtrongly on their authenticity. From ſome inſtances of Trans-Atlantic phraſeology, it ſeems probable that he is an American †: a conjecture which is rendered ſtill more probable by the motto affixed to the title page, "Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius, nec beneficio, nec injuriâ cogniti." This declaration of impartiality we are by no means diſpoſed to doubt, ſince we find the meaſures not only of the Engliſh, French, and Ruſſian governments, but of almoſt every other, arraigned with equal impartiality.

"Upon the manufactures of France (ſays he) we have ſaid but little. The multiplicity of negative laws and reſtrictions, with which ignorance and venality load all ſorts of competition in univerſal induſtry, prevent a reciprocity of trade, and render it impoſſible to form a calculation upon the progreſs or benefits of any branch of manufacture, trade, or commerce. The natural advantages and political ſuperiority of the French Nation might ſoon

* "Pacis nomine bellum involutum." Cic.

† It has been attributed, in our opinion with ſome degree of probability, to Mr. Cobbett; but a gentleman of the name of Irwin, reſident at Berlin, has alſo been mentioned as the author.

render

render that country the workshop and emporium of the world. *But to act upon advantages that nature has pointed out, seems beneath the dignity of modern governments: perhaps beyond the economical knowledge of Bonaparte!* Modern legislatures have *calico-printers, sugar-planters,* and *corn-factors* for their oracles on national economy. For the privilege of enhancing the price of the conveniencies and necessaries of life to the community, these give *douceurs*; pay custom and excise; and the treasury is the key-stone of all cabinets. The common interest of society is not the concern of *common* ministers. In most countries the duration of the state seems to be but a secondary consideration with its rulers."

The turn of the emperor of Russia comes next, and with him that illustrious culinary philosopher Count Rumford, who has at least the consolation of being abused in good company.

"The military power of France (says he) is rapidly rising to command the world; and as if Bonaparte guided the measures of all his powerful neighbours, his only formidable rival Alexander I. seems principally occupied in building kitchens *à la Baron Voght*, and teaching cooks to make *Rumford-broth*. It is truly lamentable to see well-meaning sovereigns planting in every corner of their dominions the pestiferous institutions of those *errant-quacks*; that is, seminaries of idleness, indigence, and vice."

The treaty of Amiens is complimented with the appellation of the *treasonable truce*; and our quarrel with the Northern States is reprobated;

"First, because the object of that war was not worth to Great Britain the *little* finger of a British sailor; secondly, because it proved to the world an obstinate adherence to the most despicable principle in politics that ever was countenanced by the government of a great nation; viz. that of avenging upon weaker neighbours wrongs received from powerful enemies! That Denmark and Sweden were accomplices with Russia, was to those, who were acquainted with the circumstances, a futile, absurd pretext; and thirdly, because that war, without producing any sort of benefit to Great Britain, organized and cemented an universal combination of hostile enmity against the British Empire."

To these opinions we can by no means accede. Was it of no importance to Britain to resist the injurious abolition of what had ever been considered a part of the maritime law of nations? and to prevent our enemies deriving from neutral powers a secure and constant supply of arms, ammunition, and stores? That Denmark and Sweden had co-operated with Russia is a fact which cannot be denied; and if their national inferiority were allowed to be a sufficient excuse; the general consequences would be, that we must suffer without resent-

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ment every inſult and every injury with which a powerful nation may inſtigate their ſubordinate allies to haraſs us. Nor ſhall we apprehend that it has produced an univerſal combination of hoſtile enmity againſt Great Britain when we conſider the good underſtanding ſhe at preſent maintains with the Northern Powers. But it is time we leave the conſideration of theſe opinions, which are only mentioned incidentally in the preface, and haſten to the conſideration of the body of the work.

It is aſſumed by our author as a fundamental principle in politics that the ſtability of a nation muſt depend on the ſtrength and management of its natural reſources. The power and revenue derived from manufactures and colonies are wholly excluded from conſideration; and every tax levied upon theſe, and on the whims and caprices of the rich, is cenſured as arbitrary, nugatory, and abſurd. From a calculation of the revenues of the government and clergy of France, under the old regime, and the feudal and honorary dues paid to the nobility, which are ſtated to amount to upwards of twenty millions ſterling, he deduces that on account of the alterations cauſed by the revolution, and the acquiſitions of conquered countries, the produce will be increaſed one third; but as the preſent taxes upon the rental and produce of the ſoil are only five-ſevenths of what they were under the monarchy, the territorial revenue of the republic, at the end of ten years peace, is eſtimated at twenty-two millions: to which eight millions is added as an exciſe or duty on the conſumption of thoſe, who are unconnected with agricultural purſuits, but ſubſiſt by manufactures and trade created by the produce of the ſoil. The exciſe duties under the old government are eſtimated at ſix millions, and the ſalaries paid to 300,000 men employed in collecting theſe, and the impoſts on land; the bribes and douceurs received by thoſe employed to hunt after ſmugglers; the anticipations, diſcount and gratuities to the financiers, ſpies, and informers, together with the loſs ſuſtained by the country in their being withdrawn from uſeful induſtry, are computed to amount to the almoſt incredible ſum of twenty millions: of which four-fifths is ſuppoſed to fall on the cultivators and conſumers of the produce of agriculture. This, together with the produce of the land and exciſe, amounted to forty-two millions, "ſo that the rental and the produce of the territory of old France were charged with two-fifths more annually than thirty millions would be upon the preſent extent and population of the republic." To admit the accuracy of this calculation it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe (ſince no deduction is allowed for it) that the taxes are

now collected without any expence; and that the officers of revenue are become impregnable to the offers of bribes and douceurs; that ſmugglers no longer exiſt; and that financiers, ſpies, and informers are no longer neceſſary; a change more extraordinary than any other which the revolution has effected!

The manufactures of France are repreſented as in a more flouriſhing condition than thoſe of any other country in Europe, except Great Britain; where

"The immenſe maſs of public and private paper in circulation, the amount and manner of levying the public impoſts, with the unpardonable neglect of agriculture and of the fiſheries, have raiſed the price of labour to ſuch a rate, that, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of Britiſh mechaniſm, if efficacious meaſures are not taken to ſecure the neceſſaries of life at a fair price, her exportation muſt ſooner or later be confined to ſuch articles as cannot be made elſewhere."

Our artiſts, he thinks, in ſpite of penal laws, will be induced by the cheapneſs of neceſſaries to emigrate to the continent, and "calculating men will prefer the ſecurity of a bankrupt ſet free, to that of a great dealer involved in debt." The juſtice of a great part of this accuſation muſt be allowed, however reluctantly. The neglect of our fiſheries, and the reſtrictions which bar their advancement, produce more ſerious evils than is generally imagined. The ſalt duties in the weſtern maritime counties and iſles of Scotland, which on an average of ten years amount only to 172l. 6s. per annum, have occaſioned an almoſt total annihilation of the herring fiſheries, the moſt deplorable wretchedneſs and poverty of the inhabitants, and a very conſiderable annual emigration to America*. But with regard to our agriculture, the numerous ſocieties for its encouragement and improvement, and the vigorous exertions of individuals of rank and fortune, whether their meaſures be expedient or not, muſt ſurely exempt this country from the charge of unpardonable neglect.

The fiſheries of France are ſtated as capable of maintaining and employing 45,000 ſeamen, and her colonial, European, and coaſting trade, 75,000 more; ſo that in the courſe of a few years peace the republic will poſſeſs within herſelf upwards of 120,000: to theſe 50,000 may be added as vaſſal auxiliaries in Holland, Spain, and Italy. From theſe calculations he concludes, that "ſuch a permanent revenue, with her domi-

* See a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, by R. Fraſer, Eſq. 8vo. 1803.

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nion at home, and poſſeſſions abroad, will enable the republic to maintain a military, and raiſe a naval force, far ſuperior to any power that ever appeared in Europe."

The military ſtrength of France is next diſcuſſed, and here our author takes an opportunity of paſſing ſome ſevere, though juſt ſtrictures on that inferiority in the arts of diplomacy, which has characterized for a century paſt the meaſures of this country. This perhaps more than any other cauſe has contributed to raiſe France to that elevated rank ſhe now holds in the ſcale of nations. The treaty of Amiens was not the firſt, in which the poſſeſſions that had taken years of immenſe expenditure of blood and treaſure to acquire, were in a moment relinquiſhed for ever by the pen of an ambaſſador.

"The peace of Nimeguen made the dominions of Louis XIV. the moſt compact and populous kingdom in Europe: that of Utrecht extended them to Spain and the Indies; and a natural conſequence was, the conſolidation of the military preponderance of that monarchy. The preſent ſituation of Holland, Germany, and Italy was then foreſeen, and the ruin of Great Britain itſelf was predicted.

"At Nimeguen Sir William Temple declared it to be his opinion, 'that whoever adviſed the States General to make peace with France, in her then formidable poſture, was a traitor to all the ſovereigns of Europe.' The Elector of Brandenburgh was of the ſame opinion; and wrote to the Prince of Orange, 'If Holland will not come heartily forward, it is our duty to exterminate thoſe Dutchmen, and to eſtabliſh in their ſtead a more effectual barrier to the conquering ſyſtem of France.' During the negotiations at Utrecht, the Emperor told Lord Peterborough, that the Queen, by her ſecret preliminaries with Louis, had ceded Europe and the Indies to France; and the Electoral Prince of Brunſwick, afterwards George I. in his memorials, endeavoured to convince the Britiſh miniſtry, that by giving up the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Bourbon, they ſurrendered the Britiſh kingdom as a province to the ſame power. The ſame prince obſerved to Raby, afterwards Strafford; 'Your miſtreſs has ſigned the death warrant of Europe, and of Old England; and you, Sir, are charged to prepare the halters.' In ſhort the peace of Nimeguen was the preliminary to the ſubjection of Europe, and that of Utrecht was the definitive treaty: the one put France in an offenſive poſition, the other deſtroyed the defenſive means of all her neighbours.

"When Louis XIV. began his military career Holland and Auſtria were able to defeat all his projects. At that time, the Dutch poſſeſſed a national character, wealth, and a powerful navy: by the geographical poſition of their country they were the natural allies of Great Britain; and it was the duty of the Britiſh government to have enabled them to extend their territory and maintain their marine. But when Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, in the Houſe of

Lords, cried out in the vehemence of his patriotic ignorance; "*Delenda eſt Carthago*" (meaning Holland), his Lordſhip's noble zeal ſeized his peers, and the Britiſh navy was ſent out to batter down one of the eſſential outworks of the Britiſh empire! In all probability the great ſtate-herald in his calculation had not obſerved on whom the wrecks of his Batavian Carthage was moſt likely to fall.

"The peace of Utrecht was conducted in a manner ſo diſgraceful to the Britiſh name, and concluded ſo much to the prejudice of Europe in general, and to the detriment of Great Britain in particular, that every honeſt man muſt wiſh the whole tranſaction erafed from the annals of hiſtory."

From theſe opinions few, we believe, who have accurately conſidered the ſubject, will be inclined to diſſent. The reduction of the power of Great Britain has been the favourite project of the French government for upwards of a century. The revolution has only furniſhed it with more efficacious means of accompliſhing thoſe ſchemes. It has infuſed into the national character a ferocity hitherto unexampled: it has brought into action, and placed at the head of affairs, characters of ſuperior talents to any that would ever have appeared under the old courſe of things. When internal tranquillity prevails, men of inferior abilities will frequently advance themſelves into ſtations of importance by favour or intrigue: but in times of turbulence and diſorder men of enterprize and activity alone will riſe into notice and exert the ſame energy in the execution of their offices, which they manifeſted in acquiring them. The ſceptre will be wielded by one whoſe claim is founded, not on hereditary ſucceſſion, but on the boldneſs of his attempts and the vigour of his actions; not by the feeble hand of a Henry III. or a Louis XV. but by one who may unite the military ſkill and courage of Henry IV. with the deep deſigns and crafty ambition of Louis XIV. and "the court will no longer be a college of crapulous effeminacy and frivolity."

"For theſe hundred years paſt the leading principle in the politics of France has been the reduction of the power and political influence of Great Britain. We have already obſerved, that for ninety years of that period, the French government was ſo relaxed that the Britiſh empire might have acquired and conſolidated a decided ſuperiority: but fortunately for her enemies, the foreſight of our ſtateſmen kept ſteadily in the rear of *their* indifference and imbecillity. In as far as relates to us, there can be no rational doubt but the conſulate acts upon the ſame principle that guided the monarchy; with this difference, the conſular college acts with vigour. The preſent government commands means far ſuperior to thoſe poſſeſſed by any of their predeceſſors, and Bonaparte

parte has perſonal as well as public motives for turning thoſe means and all his influence againſt the now only remaining rival of the republic.

" To point out the meaſures by which the rulers of France intend to reduce the Britiſh government to inaction, is here unneceſſary; they are already plainly exhibited to the world. When the reſt of Europe was beaten off the field, Bonaparte ſaw that to fight with Great Britain alone was an unprofitable trade; the archives of Verſailles furniſhed him with ſeveral ſtriking examples; but in that ſame library the General learned that in a campaign of diplomatic negotiations victory was certain; this was tried, and the conſulate make it no ſecret that the ſucceſs far exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations.

" By the late peace, France is enabled to form a complete circumvallation of naval poſts around the gulph of Mexico. The Cape, the Iſle of France, Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres, are flankers upon the maritime communication between Europe, Aſia, and the Pacific Ocean; the republic commands at thoſe ſtations; and the coaſts of Europe and Africa from the Ems to Senegal are under her dominion. Thus ſituate, it is the opinion of ſome ſeafaring men, that 200 ſtout well equipt French frigates, properly diſtributed in and out of Europe, might oblige Great Britain to carry her maritime trade in line of battle ſhips."

To effect this, even were France able to build and equip ſuch a naval force, one thing more would in our opinion be neceſſary, that theſe ſhips ſhould have protections from our government to ſecure them from being captured by our cruiſers.

Our author conſiders the power and military ſtrength of the continent as divided between France and Ruſſia; Sweden and Denmark being only appendages to the latter: Spain, Portugal and Italy to the former. " Theſe two mighty empires are come in contact; Berlin, Vienna, and Conſtantinople, can only be conſidered as three neutral poſts ſituate in their line of demarcation:" and the countries of which they are the capitals muſt hereafter become the ſeat of war, and be cruſhed in the mighty conflict.

" When the Czar and the Conſul draw forth their legions in hoſtile array; mediation, armed coalitions, neutral conventions, and demarcation-lines, will be of little avail. Thoſe powers have long been unuſed to cabinet warfare, and to courtier *etiquette* in the field. The intervention of other ſtates may haſten their own ſubjection, but cannot ward off their fate. The chieftains of Ruſſia and France will meet nearly on the centre of the world: the object of their quarrel will not be a biſhopric, a ſugar-iſland, nor who ſhall read their maſs in Latin, or ſay their prayers in Greek: they will fight for the poſſeſſion of the Helleſpont and Boſphorus, two poſts on which hangs now ſuſpended the empire of our eaſtern

hemiſphere. Such contending parties will not come out to ſkirmiſh and then mutually retire; nor will they fight for conqueſts to give away; the one will keep the field, and with it the dictatorſhip of the world."

Such is the tragic ſcene which our prophet predicts will terminate the eventful drama now acting on the theatre of the world; with what degree of probability we cannot determine without taking the ſame wide range of ſpeculation and conjecture; an excurſion ill adapted to the ſedate and ſober character of a reviewer. That he poſſeſſes no claims to infallibility will eaſily be believed, when he informs us, that "in caſe of another war, theſe (i. e. naval) manœuvres will be ſo managed as to make it appear to the people of England, that no ſerious invaſion is intended." Many ſimilar inſtances might be ſelected, but it is time we proceed to examine the ſtatements of the power and projects of Ruſſia.

The population of this empire, excluſive of Georgia, is eſtimated at 42 millions, whereof there are 20 millions of male peaſants, 700,000 enrolled ſoldiers, and 50,000 ſervants for the ſtaff; one half of its frontiers are bounded by an unnavigable ocean; ſix-ſevenths of the other by the uncivilized and wandering tribes of Aſia; the command of the Baltic and Black Sea renders a great part of the remainder inacceſſible to an enemy; ſo that the narrow "ſpace between Riga and Oczakow is the only frontier the Ruſſian government has to guard." To our injudicious conduct reſpecting the detention of neutral veſſels is attributed the dependence to which Sweden and Denmark are placed on their more powerful neighbour. This co-operation renders her ſuperior to the control of any other power. Poſſeſſed of immenſe internal reſources ſhe may deſpiſe our threats of blocking up the Baltic or ſending a fleet to Cronſtadt to compel her to accede to terms.

"We may," ſays he, "with as much effect employ the Britiſh navy to arreſt the currents in the Pacific Ocean, as to attempt to check the progreſs of the political arrangements and military operations of Ruſſia by interrupting her maritime trade. The trade of the Baltic, Black and White Seas, is to Europe in general, and to Great Britain in particular, an object of great importance; but to Ruſſia herſelf, were theſe ſeas dry her powers of action would be the ſame; ſhe could then make the Categate, the Mediterranean, Perſian Gulph, and Yellow Sea, her maritime ports; and the reſt of the world would ſtill come there, to carry away the ſuperabundance of her produce. An immenſe inland world of itſelf, poſſeſſing all the productions of nature, which are either neceſſary, or uſeful, or that can in any wiſe contribute to the eaſe and convenience of mankind; with irreſiſtible powers (not to be collected from,

from, nor depending upon ſcattered ſettlements abroad, but) iſſuing ſpontaneouſly from its centre, and with inexhauſtible ſources of wealth yet unexplored, maritime trade will ever be to Ruſſia a ſubordinate conſideration."

Our quarrel with the Northern Powers is again diſcuſſed and reprobated. Its object and cauſes are cenſured as frivolous and unimportant; while its effects in producing as well in America as in Europe, a hoſtile diſpoſition towards this country are deprecated as laſting and irremediable. On this enmity is grounded a ſuppoſition of a future confederacy between France and Ruſſia to exclude Great Britain from all political influence on the continents of Europe and Africa; "to interrupt our commercial intercourſe with the reſt of the world, and to deprive us of our foreign poſſeſſions."

"To effectuate this, we are told, that when the conſulate has ſufficiently diſarmed Great Britain, and fully garriſoned the ports and ſettlements of the republic, and her dependents, at home and abroad, we ſhall then ſee ſtationed in hoſtile array, and in the following order; viz.

"Between North Bergen and Cuxhaven, including the Sound and the Categate,

30 ſail of Ruſſian men of war, from 60 to 120 guns.
20 ſail of Swediſh ditto, from 40 to 74 guns.
24 ſail of Daniſh ditto, from 60 to 80 guns.
400 ſail of Ruſſian gallies and gun-veſſels,
200 ſail of Swediſh ditto.
50 ſail of Daniſh gallies and floating batteries.

"Between the Ems and Cadiz, the conſulate itſelf informs us, that the government of the republic intends to raiſe and diſtribute a navy of

160 ſail of line of battle ſhips, with from
1,500 to 2,000 armed light veſſels.

"So that ſhould the conſulate be allowed time to raiſe and equip the quota aſſigned for the republic, the coaſt of Continental Europe will be covered with two hundred and thirty-four ſail of line of battle ſhips, and between 2,150 and 2,650 gallies, gun-veſſels, and other armed craft, attended we will ſuppoſe, by

100,000 Ruſſians,
50,000 Swedes and Danes, and
150,000 French, Dutch, Swiſs, and other dependents.

"To this force the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland will of courſe be expoſed. The enemy therefore calculates that he will be able to confine all our naval and military force to Europe, while he carries into effect his long projected plan of depriving us of our ſettlements abroad."

To raiſe this force (which cuts a formidable figure *on paper*) and to effect a co-operation with Ruſſia, ſomething more, we apprehend, will be neceſſary than the intentions of the Chief Conſul; and to weaken and diſarm Great Britain will require more efficacious means than a determination of the cabinet of St Cloud. To counteract the ſchemes of Bonaparte, the detention of Malta, the ſeparation of St. Domingo from France, and the occupation of Brazil are recommended; which latter meaſure is attempted to be juſtified by the conduct of the Portugueſe government, 'which has forfeited Brazil and Goa by exactly the ſame miſdemeanor that Spain and Holland loſt Trinidad and Ceylon; unable to protect her capital, and certain that we would not do it for her, ſhe committed her dominions to the diſcretion of the French Republic.' This ſort of political caſuiſtry we by no means approve; nor do we ſee the juſtneſs of the analogy, ſince Ceylon and Trinidad were taken from nations with whom we were at war; while Portugal has thrown herſelf during the whole ſeries of hoſtilities under our peculiar protection. The expediency as well as the juſtneſs of this meaſure, is perhaps equally doubtful; ſince it muſt excite throughout Europe a greater degree of indignation than any part of our conduct relating to the detention of neutral veſſels could poſſibly have done: not to mention that the ſtrongeſt, perhaps the only, reaſon which has prevented the French from invading Portugal, is the fear the former entertain of Brazil falling into the hands of Great Britain.*

We muſt now take our leave of this intereſting publication, which we recommend as the production of a man of ſuperior talents: and though we think ſome of his ſpeculations to be rather chimerical; yet we have been amply compenſated by the extenſive political knowledge, the judicious and acute obſervations, and the important information with which the work abounds; and can entertain no doubt that if it meet with the attention it deſerves, it will conduce to the preſervation and proſperity of this country.

The ſtyle, though nervous and elevated, bears ſtrong marks of haſte and inaccuracy; and typographical errors abound in almoſt every page.

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* See Da Cunha, Biſhop of Fernambuca, on the Commerce of Portugal.

ART. LV. *The Bravo of Venice: a Romance. Translated from the German by M. G. Lewis.* 12mo, pp. 340. Price 5s. 1804. Hughes.

THE Bravo of Venice is a Neapolitan nobleman, who by the machinations of an infidious rival has been degraded from his rank, ſtripped of his property, and proſcribed his country. Deſperate in mind and fortune, he wanders long in abject miſery; and after a ſeries of calamitous adventures, arrives, deſtitute of money, and ſtarving with want, at Venice. It is here that the drama, for in regular dramatic order is the fable developed, opens. In the firſt ſcene the exile is introduced to us as a wretched mendicant.

"It was midnight, and ſtill ſat a ſtranger, ſolitary and ſad, on the border of the great canal. Now with a glance he meaſured the battlements and proud towers of the city; and now he fixt his melancholy eyes upon the waters with a vacant ſtare; at length he ſpoke. 'Wretch that I am! whither ſhall I go? here ſit I in Venice, and what would it avail me to wander further—what will become of me? all now ſlumber ſave myſelf; the Doge reſts on his couch of down; the beggar's head preſſes his ſtraw pillow, but for me there is no bed except the cold damp earth; there is no gondolier ſo wretched but he knows where to find work by day, and ſhelter by night, while I—while I—oh, dreadful is the deſtiny of which I am made the ſport!'—he began to examine, for the twentieth time, the pockets of his tattered garments. No, not one paolo, by heavens, and I hunger almoſt to death! he unſheathed his ſword, he waved it in the moonſhine, and ſighed as he marked the glittering of the ſteel: no, no—my old and true companion, thou and I muſt never part; mine thou ſhalt remain, though I ſtarve for it; oh! was not that a golden time when Valeria gave thee to me, and when, as ſhe threw the belt over my ſhoulder, I kiſt thee and Valeria!—ſhe has deſerted me for another world—but thou and I will never part in this:—He wiped away a drop which hung upon his eye-lid;—pſha, 'twas not a tear. The night wind is ſharp, and makes the eyes water, but as for tears—abſurd! my weeping days are over. And as he ſpoke the unfortunate (for ſuch by his diſcourſe he appeared to be) daſhed his forehead againſt the earth, and his lips were already uncloſed to curſe the hour which gave him being, when he ſuddenly ſeemed to recollect himſelf;—he reſted his head on his elbow, and ſung mournfully the burthen of a ſong which had often delighted his childhood in the caſtle of his anceſtors. 'Right,' he ſaid to himſelf, 'were I to ſink under the weight of my deſtiny, I ſhould be myſelf no longer.'—At that moment he heard a ruſtling at no great diſtance; he looked around, and in an adjacent ſtreet, which the moon faintly enlightned, he perceived a tall figure wrapt in a cloak, pacing ſlowly backward and forward.—'Tis the hand of God which

which hath guided him hither; yes—I'll—I'll *beg*;—better to play the beggar in Venice, than the villain in Naples——"

At this moment of calm reſignation to his deſtiny he perceives an aſſaſſin ſtealing behind an unwary paſſenger, and watching the opportunity to give him the mortal blow. The mendicant following, prevents the perpetration of the intended crime, but not the eſcape of the criminal, who in an inſtant vaniſhes from view; the beggar prefers his claims on the gratitude of the man whoſe life has been preſerved at the hazard of his own; but his relation is heard with ſuſpicious incredulity, and his ſervices are requited with inſolence and diſdain; the wretched beggar, in the bitterneſs of deſpair, leaves him with an awful menace, that when he hears the name of *Abellino* he ſhall tremble. Stung with reſentment, frantic with want, Abellino without heſitation joins the banditti, from whoſe terrible dagger neither rank nor power, neither ſex nor age, affords protection. On his admiſſion to this communion of murderers, a deſcription is given of his perſon, of which ſuch is the repulſive ughneſs, as not to be contemplated without ſenſations of terror and diſguſt, even by his new fraternity; by his ſtrength, his agility, and his daring intrepidity, however, Abellino ſoon inſpires ſentiments of reſpect and admiration, and is univerſally regarded as one deſtined by his genius to throw the ſplendor of ſucceſs over the dark abyſs of infamy and guilt. But Abellino, impatient of his diſgraceful ſervitude, is ſolely occupied in revolving plans for his own emancipation, and that of the ſtate, from the dominion of aſſaſſins; ſince he has been compelled to embrace the profeſſion of Bravo, he is reſolved to ennoble it by ſublime acts of juſtice, and, if reduced by neceſſity to accept a villain's name, he determines to ſuffer no other villain to divide his guilt, or partake his infamy. At this epoch he receives his firſt ſanguinary commiſſion from the banditti chief, who is perſonally to witneſs his conduct in the achievement: the object of the enterprize is to murder the niece of the Doge Andreas. Abellino takes the dagger, gains the appointed ſpot, warns Roſabella of her danger, and kills the banditti captain in her preſence: ſuch, however, is his addreſs, that he not only eſcapes the ſuſpicion, but acquires in a ſuperior degree the confidence of his companions.

But from the beautiful Roſabella he has received a wound fatal to his repoſe; the graces of her form, and the bewitching ſweetneſs of her countenance, have revived the ſenſibilities of youth; and in defiance of nature and of fortune, he ſurrenders his reaſon to the deluſions of a new paſſion, and forgets himſelf in wild dreams of ambition, and yet wilder dreams of love,

love. Another perſonage is now preſented in the character of Flodoardo, a young Florentine nobleman, formed in all the prodigality of nature, a luminary of genius and of wiſdom, in perſonal endowments without a rival, in mental qualities without a peer; ſuch a lord as univerſally commands the eſteem of one ſex, and the adoration of the other. To Roſabella it is obvious that Flodoardo alone might aſpire. And of Flodoardo who was worthy but Roſabella? The lovers, agreeably to the rules of romance, are attracted to each other; both are captivated at firſt ſight; and after a ſhort interval of enchantment and hope, each is rendered miſerable by the conviction, that fortune has placed an inſeparable bar between a Florentine adventurer and the niece of Andreas. But Flodoardo is not of a character to ſink ſupinely in deſpondence, nor are the vigorous faculties of his ſoul abſorbed by love; he is ſtill alive to glory, and his happy genius is pregnant with ſublime deſigns, of which the remote object is fame, and the immediate, the poſſeſſion of Roſabella; of theſe premeditated achievements the moſt important is to redeem Venice from the lawleſs banditti, the terror of her citizens, and the ſtigma of her government. By the vigilance and activity of Flodoardo thoſe haunts of iniquity ſo long inſcrutable are detected, the faſtneſſes of impunity diſcovered, and the miſcreants who had trampled on the law and defied the ſtate delivered to its tardy vengeance. Abellino alone eſcapes the common fate; inacceſſible to fear, the approach of danger inſpires him with additional courage, and animates him with preternatural energies; from the retribution that has viſited his comrades, he appears to have believed he was protected by the moſt ſacred indemnity, and with profligate boldneſs he proclaims himſelf the ſole ſurviving bravo, publiſhes the liſt of his crimes, defies the Senate, the Council, the Ducal Magiſtrate, and finally demands the beautiful Roſabella as his bride. At this period the mutual attachment of Flodoardo and Roſabella is betrayed to Andreas, who after a painful ſtruggle of pride and tenderneſs conſents to ſanction their wiſhes with his approbation, but annexes to this conceſſion the perilous condition that Flodoardo ſhall deliver to public juſtice the terrible Abellino. Flodoardo accepts the terms, and pledges himſelf in four and twenty hours to produce the aſſaſſin before the Doge; but he previouſly ſtipulates that a magnificent entertainment ſhould be provided, to which the greateſt Lords in Venice ſhould be invited, to witneſs his triumph. Andreas conſents, and Flodoardo bids Roſabella farewell in theſe ſolemn words: "To-morrow, when the clock ſtrikes five, we meet, or never."

Convinced

Convinced that the work before us is likely to obtain general circulation, we forbear to appriſe the reader of the cataſtrophe, and religiouſly withhold a communication that would deprive him of the pleaſure we have experienced, the tumultuary pleaſure of ſuſpenſe and anticipation; we will, however, allow him to read the following animated ſcene, premiſing that among the gueſts of Andreas are many conſpirators, traitors, and incendiaries, the ſecret employers of the Bravo Abellino.

"The afternoon ſo much dreaded, and yet ſo much deſired, was come, and the Doge now deſired Comilla to conduct his niece to the great ſaloon, where ſhe was expected with impatience by all thoſe who were of moſt conſequence in the ſtate. Roſabella ſunk on her knees before a ſtatue of the Virgin. 'Bleſſed Lady,' ſhe exclaimed, with lifted hands, 'have mercy on me! let all to day end well:' pale as death did ſhe enter the chamber, in which, on the day before, ſhe had acknowledged her love for Flodoardo, and Flodoardo had ſworn to riſque his life to obtain her. Flodoardo was not yet arrived; the aſſembly was brilliant, the converſation was gay, they talked over the politics of the day, and diſcuſſed the various occurrences of Europe. The Cardinal and Contorino were engaged in a conference with the Doge, while Memmo, Waroſi, and Falieri ſtood ſilent together, and revolved the project whoſe execution was to take place at midnight; the weather was dark and tempeſtuous; the wind waved among the waters of the canal, and the vanes of the palace towers creaked ſhrilly and diſcordantly; one ſtorm of rain followed hard upon another—the clock ſtruck four—the cheeks of Roſabella, if poſſible, became paler than before. Andreas whiſpered ſomewhat to his Chamberlain; in a few minutes the tread of armed men ſeemed approaching the doors of the ſaloon, and ſoon after the clattering of arms was heard—inſtantly a ſudden ſilence reigned through the whole aſſembly—the young courtiers broke off their love ſpeeches abruptly, and the ladies ſtopped in their criticiſms upon the laſt new faſhions—the ſtateſmen dropped their political diſcuſſions, and gazed on each other in ſilence and anxiety—the Doge advanced ſlowly into the midſt of the aſſembly—every eye was fixed upon him—the hearts of the conſpirators beat painfully:—'Be not ſurpriſed, my friends,' ſaid Andreas, 'at theſe unuſual precautions, they relate to nothing which need interfere with the pleaſures of this ſociety. You have all heard but too much of the bravo Abellino, the murderer of the Procurator Conari, and of my faithful Counſellors Manfrone and Somellino, and to whoſe dagger my illuſtrious gueſt, the Prince of Monaldeſchi, has but lately fallen a victim; this miſcreant, the object of averſion to every honeſt man in Venice, to whom nothing is ſacred or venerable, and who has hitherto ſet at defiance the whole vengeance of the Republic, before another hour expires; perhaps this miſcreant may ſtand before you in this very ſaloon.'—

"All aſtoniſhed—Abellino! what! the bravo Abellino?

"Lomagra. Of his own accord?"

"Andreas,

"Andreas. No, not of his own accord, in truth, but Flodoardo of Venice has undertaken to render this important ſervice to the Republic, to ſeize Abellino, coſt what it may, and conduct him hither at the riſque of his life. *(A Senator.)* 'The engagement will be difficult to fulfil. I doubt much Flodoardo's keeping his promiſe.' *(Another.)* 'But if he ſhould perform it, the obligation which Flodoardo will confer on this Republic will not be trifling.' *(A Third.)* 'Nay, we ſhall be all his debtors; nor do I know how we can reward Flodoardo for ſo important a ſervice.' Andreas. 'Be that my taſk; Flodoardo has demanded my niece in marriage, if he performs his promiſe Roſabella ſhall be his reward.'—all gazed on each other in ſilence, ſome with looks expreſſing the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction, and others with glances of envy and ſurprize."

A converſation follows, in which various conjectures are formed, and wagers laid upon Flodoardo's chances of ſucceſs; the conſpirators, confident of Abellino's proweſs, readily believe the young champion is devoted to deſtruction.

"Three and twenty hours had elapſed ſince Flodoardo had entered into this raſh engagement; the four and twentieth now haſtened to its completion, and yet Flodoardo came not; the Doge became uneaſy; the Senator Vitalba began to tremble for his thouſand ſequins, and the conſpirators could not refrain their ſpiteful laughter. When Contanno gravely declared that he would gladly loſe not *one* thouſand ſequins, but twenty, if the loſs of his wager through Abellino being captured, might but ſecure the general ſafety of the Republic. 'Mark!' cried Roſabella, the clock ſtrikes five!—all liſtened to the chimes in the tower of St. Mark's Church, and trembled as they counted the ſtrokes; had not Comilla ſupported her, Roſabella would have ſunk upon the ground—the deſtined hour was paſt, and ſtill Flodoardo came not: the venerable Andreas felt a ſincere affection for the Florentine; he ſhuddered as he dwelt upon the probability that Abellino's dagger had prevailed; Roſabella advanced towards her uncle as ſhe would have ſpoken to him; but anxiety fettered her tongue, and tears forced themſelves into her eyes: ſhe ſtruggled for a while to conceal her emotions, but the effort was too much for her; ſhe threw herſelf on a ſofa, wrung her hands, and prayed to the God of mercy for help and comfort; the reſt of the company either formed groups of whiſperers, or ſtrolled up and down the apartment in evident uneaſineſs; they would willingly have appeared gay and unconcerned, but they found it impoſſible to aſſume even an affectation of gaiety; and thus elapſed another hour, and ſtill Flodoardo came not!!!—at that moment the evening ſun broke through the clouds, and a ray of its ſetting glory was thrown full upon the countenance of Roſabella, ſhe ſtarted from the ſofa, extended her arms towards the radiant orb, and exclaimed, while a ſmile of hope played round her lips, 'God is merciful: God will have mercy on *me!!*"

From the unfiniſhed outline ſubmitted to our readers, it is obvious that the Bravo of Venice is a work in which all the extravagance

extravagance of fancy is predominant. It is a tale of terror, so whimsically strange, that by comparison the ordinary wonders of romance subside into plausible and almost natural probabilities. It is a tale of terror, and of terror only; of pathos there is little; of humour none; nor are the characters such as, independent of situation, would possess important claims on our sympathy or admiration. We have read this volume with an avidity and an anxious perturbation that have borne honourable testimony to the author's genius. In the title page we are informed it is a translation from the German, from what author we are left to discover. In the advertisement it is announced as the work of the author of The Monk, without any reference to the translation. In the general cast of style and sentiment it bears a family resemblance to the former productions of the same writer; the wildness and extravagance of the story are indisputably of German extraction, and whether transmitted by translation or imitation, the Bravo of Venice owes his existence in his present shape to the predilection which Mr. Lewis has long cherished for that school; a predilection by which he has been too often seduced from the principles of true taste, and not unfrequently betrayed into the sin of plagiarism on writers whose powers of combination are evidently far more circumscribed than his own.

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ART. LVI. *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America. To which are annexed, some Accounts of Florida; the French Colony on the Scioto; certain Canadian Colonies; and the Savages, or Natives. Translated from the French of C. F. Volney, Member of the Conservative Senate, and of the French National Institute, &c. &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 530; with Maps and Plates. price 14s. Johnson, London. 1804.

THE present work is the fruit of three years travels and residence in the United States by a very celebrated traveller. Like the generality of the men of letters in France who had the good fortune to escape the guillotine, M. Volney was imprisoned during great part of the reign of Robespiere. The death of that monster set him free; but, disgusted and dispirited at the state of his country, he sought refuge in America, where he hoped that a devotee of liberty might find at least an asylum. To make his election as to the spot, he traversed almost the whole of the United States, enquiring diligently not only into the climate and soil, but into the laws and the manners of the people. The result of the enquiry was, on the whole, not unfavourable to America:

"And

"And when I conſidered, on the one hand, the gloomy and boiſterous ſtate of France and all Europe; the probability of long and obſtinate wars, from the conteſt ariſen between prejudices on the decline, and knowledge increaſing; between deſpotiſms grown old and young liberties ariſing; on the other, the peaceful and ſmiling aſpect of the United States, in conſequence of the immenſe extent of territory to be peopled, the facility of acquiring landed property, the neceſſity and profits of labour, perſonal freedom, and the liberty of a man's employing his induſtry in any way he might think proper, and the mildneſs of the government, founded on its weakneſs; after weighing all theſe motives, I had formed a reſolution to remain in the United States; when, in the ſpring of 1798, an epidemic animoſity againſt the French breaking out, and the threat of an immediate rupture, compelled me to withdraw."

We do not at all wonder at what the author calls an epidemic animoſity againſt the French breaking out in America; we ſuppoſe it to have been no more than that general ſentiment of horror at their atrocious cruelties, and of indignation at their increaſing and domineering ſpirit, which was felt by all the friends of liberty, as ſoon as the veil which had ſo long obſcured their internal tranſactions was removed, and the maſk ſtripped off under which they had ſo long acted a part. It appears, however, that there was another cauſe for M. Volney's leaving America in the particular animoſity which powerful individuals manifeſted towards himſelf. If we are to give credit to the querulouſneſs of the injured party, we muſt believe that Mr. Adams, who was then Preſident of the United States, had no other motive for his animoſity than the rancour of an author ſore at the attacks made by Volney on his book, "The Defence of the Conſtitution of the United States."

On his return to France, it was the original plan of our author to have publiſhed, not only an account of the ſoil and climate of America, but to have conſidered the population, its diſtribution over the territory, its diviſion into different kinds of labour and employment, and the habits and manners thence reſulting; but a ſevere illneſs, and the duties attending his preſent public employments in France, have compelled him to relinquiſh ſo extenſive a plan, and to confine himſelf to the ſoil and climate alone. The conſequence is, that the preſent work is not likely to be a favourite with general readers, but is calculated to afford amuſement to the ſcientific alone. Notwithſtanding M. Volney profeſſes not to enter into the manners and character of the people of America, it is eaſy to perceive, from his introduction, that he does not entertain a favourable opinion of them. He conſiders that the name of

*young*

*young* people, which they affect to give themſelves, is not ſo much a confeſſion of preſent weakneſs, as a diſcloſure of ſchemes of future grandeur; and that the term *young* particularly ſuits them, from the inexperience and eagerneſs with which they give themſelves up to flattery and luxury. He is of opinion, that, with all their pretenſions to ſimplicity, purity, and œconomy, "the moſt ſcandalous profuſion exiſts in ſome departments of their finances;" (he inſtances, frigates, conſtructed at an expence of £.70,833 for each:) "that they do not manifeſt more good faith in their public tranſactions, more decency in public morals, more moderation of party ſpirit, more care in the education of youth, than the old nations of Europe: in a word, that they are more indebted to their inſulated ſituation, their diſtance from every powerful neighbour, and *to the general eaſineſs of their circumſtances*, than to the eſſential goodneſs of their laws, or the wiſdom of their adminiſtration, for their public proſperity and civil and *individual wealth*." Our readers will, doubtleſs, obſerve our author's curious reaſoning in this laſt ſentence; "they are indebted to the general eaſineſs of their circumſtances for their individual wealth:" that is to ſay, they are indebted to the ſame thing for the ſame thing. We think great part of our author's *diatribe* againſt the Americans may be fairly attributed to the epidemical animoſity which he has already ſtated to have broken out among them.

We ſhall now proceed to examine M. Volney's account of the climate and ſoil of the United States. In extent, this vaſt country exceeds ſix times the ſize of Great Britain and Ireland together, but its population is leſs than that of England alone, amounting in 1801 to only 5,214 801. Its climate includes the extremes of Morocco, Egypt, Perſia, Thibet, China, Italy, Turkey, and Tartary. The aſpect of the country is ſingular:

"An almoſt uninterrupted continental foreſt: five great lakes on the north: on the weſt extenſive ſavannahs: in the centre a chain of mountains, the ridges running in a direction parallel to the ſea coaſt, the diſtance of which is from fifty to a hundred and thirty miles, and ſending off to the eaſt and weſt, rivers of longer courſe, of greater width, and pouring into the ſea larger bodies of water than ours in Europe; moſt of theſe rivers having cafcades, or falls, from twenty to a hundred and forty feet in height, mouths ſpacious as gulphs; and on the ſouthern coaſts marſhes extending above two hundred and fifty miles in length; on the north, ſnows remaining four or five months of the year: on a coaſt of three hundred leagues extent, ten or twelve cities, all built of brick, or of wood painted of different colours, and containing from ten to ſixty thouſand inhabitants: round theſe cities, farm houſes, built of trunks of trees, which they call log-houſes, in the centre of a few fields

fields of wheat, tobacco, or Indian corn; theſe fields, ſeparated by a kind of fence made with branches of trees, inſtead of hedges, for the moſt part full of ſtumps of trees, half burnt, or ſtripped of their bark, and ſtill ſtanding; while both houſes and fields are enchaſed as it were in maſſes of foreſt, in which they are ſwallowed up, and diminiſh both in number and extent the farther you advance into the woods, till at length, from the ſummits of the hills, you perceive only here and there a few little brown or yellow ſquares on a ground of green; add to this a fickle and variable ſky, an atmoſphere alternately very moiſt and very dry, very miſty and very clear, very hot and very cold, and a temperature ſo changeable, that in the ſame day you will have ſpring, ſummer, autumn, and winter, Norwegian froſt and an African ſun. Figure to yourſelf theſe, and you will have a conciſe phyſical ſketch of the United States." (p. 11-12.)

M. Volney ſpeaks highly of the labours of his predeceſſors, the Duke de Liancourt, and Mr. Weld, whoſe works, he ſays, form a travelling library of the United States. He quotes at length the highly intereſting account given by the latter of the cataract of Niagara, to which M. Volney had not ſufficient bodily ſtrength to approach ſo near as his youthful predeceſſor. Our readers will, however, be intereſted by M. Volney's account of the minute topographical circumſtances of this gigantic work of nature.

"It is an incident truly aſtoniſhing in geography, to ſee a river ſeven hundred and forty yards broad, (that is, about the length of the canal in St. James's park,) and of the mean depth of fifteen feet, the ground of the plain through which it winds ſuddenly failing, precipitate itſelf in one vaſt ſheet, a hundred and fifty feet perpendicularly to a lower plain, where it continues its courſe, without the eye of the ſpectator being able to perceive any mountain by which its current has been checked or obſtructed. By what ſingularity of local circumſtances Nature has prepared and produced this prodigious ſcene, does not preſent itſelf to the imagination; and when we have diſcovered it, we are almoſt as much ſurprized at the ſimplicity of the means, as at the grandeur of the effect.

"That the reader may conceive an idea of the picture, without difficulty, he muſt at firſt recollect, that all the country included between lake Erie and the Ohio is a vaſt plain, of a higher level than almoſt the whole of the continent, as is proved by the ſources of the different rivers that flow from it; ſome running into the Gulf of Mexico, others into the Northern Ocean, and others into the Atlantic. On the weſt and north-weſt this plain ſtretches without interruption from the Savannahs beyond Miſſiſſipi, and the lakes to which it affords a bed; on the ſouth and eaſt it extends to the ridges of the Alleghanies; but on the north, when it has paſſed Lake Erie, about ſix or ſeven miles before it reaches Lake Ontario, the ground ſuddenly ſinks, and by an abrupt de-

ſcent runs into another plain, the level of which is two hundred and ſeventy feet lower, and in which is Lake Ontario. On coming from the neighbourhood of this lake the diſpoſition of the ground is eaſily perceived; from a great diſtance on the ſheet of tranquil water you ſee before you as it were a lofty rampart, the ſlope of which, covered with wood, ſeems to forbid all paſſage farther: you enter the Niagara, up which you proceed as far as Queenstown, and you ſoon diſcover on the left, a narrow and deep valley, whence the river iſſues with ſome rapidity, but tranquil: the caſcade ſtill remains a myſtery: the ſlope above mentioned comes from Toronto, or even farther, and running along the north ſhore of Lake Ontario, at the variable diſtance of a mile or two, turns eaſterly by a curve to the ſouth ſhore of the lake; croſſes the Niagara ſeven miles from its mouth, the Geneſſee eight miles, then bends again toward the ſouth, and in a line five or ſix miles weſt of Lake Seneca, where I obſerved its declivity; it proceeds to join the ramifications of the Alleghanies, from which this lake derives the principal part of its water, and is nearly on a level with them. Indeed it may be ſaid, that, almoſt on a level in this part with theſe mountains, the plain is continued with them to Hudſon River, where it terminates by a ſlope as high and ſteep as at Niagara; which preſents another incident equally remarkable in geography, that of a country into which the tide penetrates upward of a hundred and ſixty-ſix miles, preciſely at the foot of another, in which riſe ſuch rivers as the Delaware, that runs a courſe of more than four hundred. The local circumſtances of the Niagara are far leſs obvious to thoſe who come from the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, as was my caſe on the 24th of October 1796. From this lake, and even ſailing on its waters, there is no mountain in view, except over Preſqu'iſle, where ſome low and diſtant ſummits may be diſcovered in the north-weſt part of Penſylvania. The country through which the Niagara purſues its courſe, exhibits nothing but a vaſt plain covered with wood; and the current of the river, which ſcarcely runs three miles an hour, gives no indication of the circumſtance that awaits it lower down. It is not till you come near the mouth of the little river Chipaway, eighteen miles below Lake Erie, that the current growing more rapid, warns the boatmen to keep cloſe to the ſhore, and land at the village built at that place. Here the river expands a ſheet of water about 750 yards broad, ſkirted on all ſides with high trees. You are only two miles and half from the caſcade; you hear a diſtant murmuring noiſe, like that of the waves of the ſea, and more or leſs loud, according to the direction of the wind; but the eye yet perceives nothing. On the left bank of the river, which is concealed from your view by trees, you purſue on foot a rude path traced by carts. After proceeding a mile you perceive the river turning to the left, and a mile lower down ruſhing among ſhoals, which it covers with foam. Beyond theſe breakers a cloud of vapour is ſeen to aſcend from an opening in the foreſt, and no farther trace of the river appears. The din grows louder, but no fall is to be perceived.

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You continue your way along the ſhore, which at firſt is not more than ten or twelve feet higher than the ſurface of the water, but ſoon riſes to twenty, thirty, fifty, and by this declivity indicates the acceleration of the current. Some gullies then oblige you to quit the ſide of the river, leaving it on your right; to return to it, you croſs the grounds belonging to a farm houſe; and at length, emerging from amidſt the trees and underwood, you reach the ſide of the cataract. Here you ſee the whole river ruſh into a chaſm, or channel, hollowed out by itſelf, about 200 feet deep, and 1200 broad. In this it is encaſed as between two walls of rock, the ſides of which are covered with cedars, firs, beach, oaks, birch, &c. Travellers commonly view the falls from this ſpot, where a jutting rock overhangs the abyſs: ſome of our party gave it the preference; but the reſt, of whom I was one, being informed that we could deſcend to the bottom, ten or twelve hundred yards lower down, by Mrs. Simcoe's ladder, imagined we ſhould enjoy the grandeur of the ſpectacle to more advantage there, as objects of this kind produce a greater effect, when we look up to them from below. Accordingly we went down this ladder, though not without difficulty, as the ladders are nothing but trunks of trees, with notches cut in them, and fixed againſt the ſide of the precipice. On reaching the bottom we could proceed upward toward the fall by a ſhore conſiſting of fragments of rock and ſand, where we found the carcaſes of ſome deer and wild boars, which the current had hurried down the cataract, on their attempting to ſwim acroſs the river above it. Near us the ſtream ran very rapidly over a bed of rocks, but without being at all dangerous. On our left, in front, was a part of the fall, about 200 feet wide, ſeparated from the grand cataract by a ſmall iſland. Beyond it, and facing us, the great cataract appeared in form of a horſe-ſhoe, about 1200 feet broad, concealed on the right by the projecting rocks of the ſide of the chaſm. At more than ſix hundred yards diſtance, the ſpray of the water fell ſo as to wet us like rain.

As I was but juſt recovering from a malignant fever, with which I had been attacked at Fort Detroit, I had neither ſtrength or inclination to proceed farther: ſome of my companions, however, attempted to reach the caſcade, but they were ſoon forced to return by obſtacles, not ſo eaſy to ſurmount as they had imagined." (p. 98, 105.)

In quoting Mr. Williams's account of earthquakes, of which no leſs than forty-five have taken place in North America during the laſt 154 years, the circumſtance is mentioned of their imparting to the waters the fetid ſmell of liver of ſulphur, and throwing out of great chinks ſand with a ſimilar ſmell; on which our author remarks,

"Did not that ſmell of liver of ſulphur, imparted to the water and ſand, vomited up from the bowels of the earth through great chinks, originate from the ſtratum of ſchiſt which we found at Niagara beneath the limeſtone, and which, when ſubjected to the action of fire, emits a ſtrong ſmell of ſulphur? It is true this is but one

of the elements of the ſubſtance mentioned, but an accurate analyſis might detect the other."

Is M. Volney ignorant that the limeſtone furniſhes that other ingredient: is he not aware of the exiſtence of calcareous liver of ſulphur (ſulphuret of lime) as well as of liver of ſulphur (ſulphuret of pot-aſh)? Both of theſe produce the fetid ſmell alluded to; and it is now well known, that both potaſh and ſoda are abundantly found in the mineral kingdom."

Our author mentions the remarkable fact of the climate of the Atlantic coaſt being colder in winter and hotter in ſummer than thoſe under the ſame parallel of latitude in Europe. In Canada, in the latitude of 46° and 47°, which correſponds with the middle of France, the cold was in 1790 ſo intenſe as to freeze quickſilver, which congelation never takes place in Europe except in the latitude of 60°, as at Peterſburgh: and in ſummer the heat is up to from 28° to 31° Reaumur. M. Volney thinks the heat of Cairo more tolerable than that of Philadelphia. It happens alſo that the daily variations of temperature are greater and more abrupt than in Europe. In 1764 between ten o'clock at night on the 31ſt of December and eight o'clock of the morning following, the Delaware was frozen ſo hard that people could walk acroſs it: during its freezing a ſmoke is ſtated by Dr. Ruſh to have riſen from its ſurface, and the people are ſaid to have aſſembled in aſtoniſhment to contemplate the phenomenon. This phenomenon is very eaſily to be accounted for by the atmoſphere cooling more ſuddenly than the water; the laſt being warmer than the air muſt of courſe riſe in vapour, which is viſible becauſe the cold air cannot hold it in ſolution. This *phenomenon* always takes place when a hot day is ſucceeded by a cold night.

A remarkable hurricane took place on the continent of America in October 1757. It appears to have proceeded in a direction from Boſton to Weſt Florida, on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. The ſingularity of this hurricane was not ſo much that it was felt at different places at very different times, but that it did not begin at Boſton till ſeveral hours after its commencement on the coaſt of the gulf, ſo that it was firſt felt at the point to which the air was ruſhing, and terminated at the place whence it proceeded. Dr. Franklin with his uſual ſagacity inferred, that the hurricane was produced by a ſudden vacuum being formed in the gulf, cauſing a ſuction, to ſupply which the air of the continent ruſhed in; firſt that neareſt to it, and in ſucceſſion from remoter diſtances. The principal objection to this theory is, that a vacuum would

not have been ſupplied in one direction only, but the air would have ruſhed in on all ſides of the Gulf of Mexico; this, however, does not appear to have been the caſe. The theory of Dr. Franklin has ſuggeſted to M. Volney a mode of accounting for ſtorms in general.

"Chemiſtry, it is true, has not yet made an analyſis of ſtormy clouds, or their manner of acting on each other: it has not decompoſed their conſtituent parts, ſo as to make known all the agents, and all the effects of their detonations, of the ſudden ſolutions conſequent to theſe, and of the condenſations equally ſudden by which a very conſiderable volume of aqueous vapour is reduced to a ſmall volume of water and cold air; but the material facts, and many ſubſequent to them, are known, and from induction to induction they lead to ſatisfactory reſults. It is known that there are no clouds without moiſt ſurfaces; that clouds are the products of the evaporation of water, and the volatile principles contained in it: that this evaporation is copious in proportion to the heat, dryneſs, and renewal of the air: that conſequently cloudy vapours are a combination of the particles of water with thoſe of caloric, or the igneous or electric fluid; for in my conception theſe three terms expreſs but one principle, either pure or modified. This principle, light and centrifugal by nature, takes up the water, which is eſſentially heavy, and forms of it, if I may venture to uſe the term, little balloons, capable of floating or being wafted through the air, and equally electric in greater or leſs proportion: thus it may be ſaid that clouds are a kind of volatile neutral ſalt, compoſed of caloric, air, and water, the conſtituent principles of which become again perceptible by the ſenſes, at the moment of their reduction or detonation; namely, the water in the rain that falls, the caloric in the lightning that flaſhes and flies off, and the air in ſome other way leſs ſenſible to the eyes. All clouds, however, are not ſtormy or thunder clouds: to be ſuch, it appears, they require a ſtronger doſe of caloric, which they are capable of taking up in different proportions: and it ſeems likewiſe, on the ſea, the abundance of aqueous fluid, and the temperature, which is there always more moderate than on land in ſimilar ſtates of the atmoſphere, do not allow them to ſaturate themſelves ſo highly with caloric, or to be ſo ſtormy or detonant. In fact, it is obſerved by ſeamen, that in the open ſea ſtorms are more rare and leſs violent, but occur more frequently, and with greater fury, on approaching the land. Conſequently the intenſity of heat, or abundance of caloric, occaſioned by the reverberation of the earth, is one determining cauſe, one conſtituent principle of ſtorm: to which muſt be added a number of other matters abounding on land, and rare, if they exiſt at all, on the ſea, as volatile mineral ſubſtances, ſulphur, and gaſes of different kinds, evolved in very conſiderable quantity from animal or vegetable ſubſtances, in a ſtate either of putrefaction or ſimple maceration. This ſtate particularly occurs in marſhy or muddy places, the ſubſtance of which is ſuſceptible of a much higher degree of heat than

ſimple water: and this circumſtance combines in the moſt remarkable manner with all the reſt in the ſpot of which we are ſpeaking; for all the Delta of the Miſſiſſipi is a land half ſubmerged by water, partly freſh, and partly brackiſh. All the right or weſt bank of this river, for four hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth, is drowned every year by inundations: all the north ſhore of the Gulf, from Mobile Bay to St. Bernard's, and even to the river Del Norte, an extent of five hundred miles, conſiſts wholly of marſhes. Finally, the ſhores of Yucatan, Cuba, Campeachy, and Florida, abound with them; and it is eaſy to conceive, that all theſe ſurfaces, containing many hundred of ſquare miles, muſt furniſh an enormous quantity of inflammable gas, and other materials of ſtorms. It is fully demonſtrated, likewiſe, that when clouds differently charged approach each other, and come into contact, an action takes place between them, tending to produce an equilibrium of the electric or igneous fluid, and every other gas: that in this action the electric fluid diſplays greater velocity than air or water; that from its extreme tenuity, all its parts mingle together at once, and that their diſengagement from every other combination is ſudden and ſimultaneous. In conſequence of this diſengagement the water that was combined with it is left to its natural gravity: whence the drops of rain, more or leſs large, that follow at once the lightning, the flaſh of which diſplays the pure igneous fluid at the moment of its diſengagement, and the clap of thunder, the ſound of which is produced by the concuſſion of the air ruſhing into the vacuum occaſioned by the condenſation of the vapour, or its reduction into water. Now if it be conſidered that water converted into ſteam by ebullition is calculated to occupy eighteen hundred times its former ſpace, and that at a leſs degree of heat it ſtill occupies more than a thouſand, that, conſequently, a cloud of a thouſand ſquare fathoms may be ſuddenly reduced to the ſpace of one, or, to take the very loweſt computation, to ten; if it be added, that the velocity of the air ruſhing into the vacuum is equal to that of a cannon ball, or 460 yards in a ſecond, we ſhall no longer be aſtoniſhed at the prodigious force of thoſe guſts of wind, which, under the name of ſqualls, water-ſpouts, and hurricanes, tear up trees by the roots, overturn houſes, raiſe up water, and throw over the ramparts four-and-twenty pounders with their carriages, many inſtances of which have been ſeen in the Weſt Indies, and we may conceive, that the ſudden formation of vacuums in the air are in reality the common and powerful cauſe of all the violent commotions in the atmoſphere." (p. 98—202.)

The application of the term volatile neutral ſalts to clouds is inadmiſſible: if ſuch liberties are allowed chemiſtry will become a jargon: a neutral ſalt is the union of an acid with either an alkali, an earth, or a metal, and what is there in a cloud that by any analogy whatever can be likened to this? With reſpect to the theory itſelf, we deem it very ingenious, but it is not new. In the fifth volume of the Annales de Chemie

Chemie there is an eſſay by Monge. "Sur la cauſe des principaux phenomenes de la Météréologie," which contains nearly the ſame theory. For the gratification of our readers, we ſhall briefly ſtate the ingenious way in which M. Monge accounts for the phenomenon of thunder. This he deems to be a complex phenomenon, partly electrical and partly metereological. It is not wholly electrical, becauſe the noiſe of an electric diſcharge conſiſts always of a ſingle ſtroke, whereas the noiſe of thunder is always rolling, and compoſed of a ſucceſſion of ſtrokes. This difference cannot be accounted for by ſuppoſing that the ſingle ſtroke is reverberated and re-echoed by the clouds in the ſame manner as the diſcharge of a cannon is made ſometimes to reſemble the rumbling of thunder, when diſcharged in a mountainous country, by the reſiſtance of the rocks, becauſe the clouds are incapable of reſiſtance, and preſent no reverberating ſurface. It is well known that a cannon fired at ſea, at a diſtance from any coaſt, is heard but a ſingle time, however numerous the clouds may be, whereas thunder ſounds in the ſame manner there as on land. The reaſon of the rumbling of thunder muſt therefore be looked for elſewhere. The formation of a cloud always accompanies thunder. This formation depends on a portion of the atmoſphere becoming ſuddenly ſuperſaturated with water, of courſe a quantity which was diſſolved in the air, and in an elaſtic ſtate, paſſes from the aëriform to the liquid ſtate, and is thereby reduced to a volume about nine hundred times leſs. Of conſequence a vacuum is formed in the atmoſphere. The neighbouring maſſes of air ruſh in to fill up this vacuum, and produce the firſt ſtroke: they being dilated, in conſequence become in their turn ſuperſaturated with water (for the power in the air of holding water in ſolution depends on its ſtate of condenſation, as well as its temperature, a fact proved by the receiver of an air pump being bedewed with water when the air is partly exhauſted); a freſh precipitation of water takes place in them, and a new vacuum, which being ſupplied in the ſame way, a ſecond ſtroke is produced, and ſo on. But the firſt vacua being filled by maſſes of air of a greater diameter, the vacua which ſucceed become leſs and leſs, and the exploſions in conſequence weaker, till they wholly ceaſe.

We recommend to our reader's peruſal the whole of Monge's very ingenious eſſay, and they will find his theory very much reſembling M. Volney's.

Our preſent author accounts alſo for "theſe incomprehenſible hail-ſtorms, in which, contrary to all the laws of gravitation, we ſee pieces of ice weighing ſeveral pounds coming from the higher regions of the atmoſphere," by the ſame theory

of a vacuum. He narrates the following hail-ſtorm, of which he was himſelf a witneſs:

"I had long refuſed to credit the exiſtence of thoſe hail-ſtones ſaid to weigh ounces, and even pounds, of which newſpapers and travellers too frequently ſpeak; but the ſtorm of the 13th July 1788, afforded me the conviction of my own ſenſes. I was at Pont Chartrain, ten miles from Verſailles, and going to ſee a ſheep-walk at ſix o'clock in the morning, I found the rays of the ſun intolerably ſcorching: the air was calm and ſuffocating, that is, it was extremely rarefied; the ſky was without a cloud, yet I heard four or five claps of thunder. About a quarter after ſeven a cloud appeared in the ſouth-weſt, and then a very briſk wind aroſe. In a few minutes the cloud filled the horizon, and ſpeeded toward the zenith with an increaſe of the wind, and a hail-ſtorm ſuddenly came on, the ſtones not falling perpendicularly, but obliquely, at an angle of 45°, and ſo large, that you would have taken them for pieces of mortar from a roof pulling down. I could not believe my own eyes: many of the ſtones were larger than a man's fiſt, and I obſerved too, that ſeveral of theſe were only fragments of larger pieces. When I could ſafely venture my hand out of the door of the houſe, to which I had very opportunely retired for ſhelter, I took up one, and found it to weigh more than five ounces by a common pair of ſcales. Its ſhape was very irregular, and it had three principal horns, as big as the thumb, and almoſt as large, projecting from the nucleus on which they were collected. I have been credibly informed, that a hail-ſtone at St. Germain weighed more than three pounds, and after this I know not what weight ſurpaſſes belief." (p. 205.)

The following is our author's opinion of M. Pauw, whoſe opinions in their day made ſome noiſe in the world:

"Pauw's Inquiries concerning the Americans is a ſtrange book. When I returned from America I was deſirous of reading it, to profit by the great fund of information, which it was reputed to contain: but when I ſaw with what confidence he adopts falſe facts, with what boldneſs he deduces from them chimerical conſequences, and advances and maintains incongruous paradoxes, and with what acrimony he attacks other writers, the book dropped from my hands. I cannot conceive how a man can ſit down in his cloſet, and decide peremptorily on facts he never ſaw, from incompetent or contradictory witneſſes: for my own part, the more I have ſeen of the world and extended my obſervations, the more am I convinced, that nothing is leſs frequent, or requires greater nicety, than to obſerve objects, particularly complex ones, in the proper point of view, and in their true connexions: that it is almoſt impoſſible to ſpeak reaſonably of the general ſyſtem of a country, or of a nation, without having reſided in it: that it is the ſame, and even worſe, with regard to times paſt: and that the greateſt obſtacle to the advancement of knowledge is that ſpirit of certainty which has hitherto formed the baſis of education among almoſt all people." (p. 240.)

We

We come now to a very important part of M. Volney's work, that which treats of the ſalubrity of the American climate, and his remarks cannot fail to intereſt all thoſe who have any deſign of viſiting this quarter of the world. As M. Volney was originally educated for the medical profeſſion, his remarks on this point come with more authority than thoſe of a common traveller.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. LVII. *The Principles and Practice of Agriculture, ſyſtematically explained. In Two Volumes. Being a Treatiſe compiled for the Fourth Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, and reviſed and enlarged by Robert Forſyth, Eſq.* 8vo. pp. 1154. Price 1l. 1s. Vernor & Hood, London. 1804.

WE are informed, in the preface to this work, that after the treatiſe on agriculture intended for the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica "had been compiled and printed, it occurred to the proprietor that conſiderable numbers of perſons, to whom the peruſal of it might be productive of much advantage, would be very unlikely to become purchaſers of a literary work of ſuch magnitude and expence as the Encyclopædia Britannica." He therefore determined to print the treatiſe ſeparately, having previouſly procured Mr. Forſyth to reviſe it. We muſt conſequently conſider this ſyſtem of agriculture as the forerunner of the fourth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, and as moſt probably ſelected, partly at leaſt, becauſe the proprietor thought it calculated to create a prepoſſeſſion in favour of his larger work.

The view of it in this light has induced us to impoſe upon ourſelves the diſagreeable duty of pointing out the total and decided variance between the contents and the title of the book. In the title we are led to expect a ſyſtematic explanation of the principles and practice of agriculture; and yet, not very conſiſtently, the title alſo informs us that it is a compilation. Now, as we will venture to aſſert that there is not a ſingle work to which the makers of this treatiſe could have acceſs, that contains even a meagre detail of the principles, or a ſyſtematic arrangement of the practice, of agriculture, how can any compilation embrace what the former part of the title holds forth. And, accordingly, if the reader will glance his eye over the table of contents, he will find that this work has nothing to do with the principles of agriculture, and very little connection with ſyſtem; but that, as the more modeſt

but

but leſs conſpicuous part of the title declares, it is a compilation, formed with little judgment or knowledge of the ſubject.

On reflection, we are inclined to think, that we admitted too much when we allowed the juſtice of calling this work a compilation. By compilation, if we underſtand the term, is meant, not tranſcribing the words, but borrowing the thoughts or facts of an author, and preſenting them in our own language, condenſed and methodized, ſo as that there may be a uniformity of ſtyle, and a regular connection and juſt proportion of parts: but in the work before us, the extracts are too long and numerous, and ſo little care has been taken to adapt them to the importance of the particular ſubject on which they treat, or to prepare for their introduction by original general obſervations, that we ſhould have ſuppoſed a dozen volumes on agriculture, (particularly Arthur Young's never-ending annals) and ſciſſors and paſte alone had been employed in this compilation.

The Hiſtory of Agriculture conſiſts of 50 pages, and it is ſtill very defective, although we are told in the preface that this part of the ſubject has been very much enlarged. Mr. A. Young's comparative account and ſtatement of the agriculture of France and England is preſſed into this part of the work, though it might puzzle the compiler to tell why it was placed here. Our ſurpriſe at this, however, is ſoon completely abſorbed in aſtoniſhment at the ſubjects, that, by ſome miſtake we ſuppoſe in the perſon employed to paſte on the extracts, are arranged under the Theory of Agriculture. When we firſt read the different ſections, as they ſtand in the table of contents, under the general head—Theory of Agriculture, we thought there muſt be a typographical error, and that for Theory we ought to read Practice of Agriculture. We ſhall enumerate the ſections, and then let the reader judge whether we were not very charitable in ſuppoſing ſome blunder of the preſs.

THEORY of AGRICULTURE.—Sect. 1. Of vegetables to be cultivated as food for man.—Sect. 2. Of the moſt proper kinds of vegetables to be raiſed for the purpoſe of feeding cattle.—Sect. 3. Of the comparative profit to be derived from the cultivation of different vegetables.—Sect. 4. General principles of agriculture.—Sect. 5. Of the different kinds of vegetables proper to be raiſed, with a view to the melioration of the ſoil.—Sect. 6. Of deſtroying weeds.—Sect. 7. Of the diſeaſes of plants.—Sect. 8. Of the obſtacles to agricultural improvement.

Our

Our charitable ſuppoſition we were obliged reluctantly to give up when, upon turning to page 53, we read the following paragraph:

"A theory, or general view of the principles of agriculture, ſeems neceſſarily to reſolve itſelf into the two following inveſtigations: 1ſt, To enquire, among the great variety of vegetables that exiſt in nature, what particular plants ought to be regarded as moſt worthy of cultivation; and 2ndly, To conſider the beſt mode of cultivating with ſucceſs the plants thus ſelected."

As theory is a term not very accurately defined, it would not have been very ſurpriſing if the author had miſtaken its meaning: but after the correct explanation he has given of it,—"A General View of the Principles of Agriculture," it puzzles us to conceive how he could poſſibly imagine that either of the enquiries he propoſes have any thing to do with the principles of agriculture. Beſides, if the reader will advert to the title of the 4th ſection, he will there find that the whole is only part of itſelf, a ſtill more notable and profound diſcovery. The fourth ſection contains the general principles of agriculture; but theſe, according to the definition, conſtitute the Theory of Agriculture: conſequently, as there are eight ſections under this head, the Theory of Agriculture is juſt the eighth part of itſelf. The ſecond inveſtigation into which a "theory ſeems neceſſarily to reſolve itſelf," is concerning the "beſt mode of cultivating with ſucceſs the plants thus ſelected." As the conſideration of this enquiry, however, would have left nothing to be claſſed under the practice of agriculture, and as the title had expreſsly promiſed the conſideration of that branch, the compiler very wiſely has forgot to treat of this diviſion under the head of Theory. The reader will, we imagine, be convinced that the title and the contents, as far at leaſt as we have hitherto advanced, do not perfectly coincide. In juſtice, however, to this curious work, we muſt notice that, if in ſome parts there is leſs than the title promiſes, in other parts there is much more; ſo that if the ſurpriſe be balanced againſt the diſappointment, perhaps the former will preponderate. After being very gravely and ſagely informed that fruit-trees are not truſted to for food, becauſe they ripen ſlowly and are deſtroyed in war, we are preſented with a perfectly novel criterion, by which we may, with the utmoſt accuracy, determine the long-agitated queſtion, Whether mankind are progreſſive, ſtationary, or retrograde, in their moral character?—and by which we may alſo graduate a ſcale to meaſure the different degrees of moral amelioration of the different nations in the world.

"Hence

"Hence it appears that the cultivation of plants of annual growth, as a source of subsistence, is favourable to the permanence of civilization in the world: and that before nations can venture to rely for their subsistence upon the fruit of plants of flower growth, their character must have arrived at a degree of moral amelioration far superior to what it has ever been known to possess."—(p. 56.)

Whenever, therefore, we see fruit-trees instead of corn covering the fields, we may safely and confidently pronounce that the millenium is arrived!

The arrangement of that part of the work which treats of the practice of agriculture is exceedingly confused: and the information, which the compiler has collected, by no means well digested or sufficiently clear and determinate. The second section, On preparing Land for Cropping, ought to have included the observations on fences, which are thrown to the end of the second volume, under part the third, which treats, besides, of Cattle, Sheep, Rabbits, Poultry, &c. The Rotation of Crops ought to have been discussed in the 7th division of section 2nd, which treats of the different kinds of soil and plants proper for each. It ought, at any rate, to have been fully investigated, before the mode of cultivating particular plants was explained; whereas the latter subject occurs page 454, vol. i. and the Rotation of Crops page 170, vol. ii. The unavoidable consequence is, that most of the directions given for the cultivation of the different plants are injudicious, or inapplicable in many cases, as they do not advert to the rotation of which the particular plant forms a part. Every practical agriculturist knows, that the preparation for many crops ought to vary considerably, according to the crop which has preceded it, and, in some instances, according to the crop it is intended should follow it. In this important part, instead of being told what is the best practice, on different soils, in climates of different temperatures and degrees of moisture, and with reference to different rotations, (without an express reference to all of which, rules will do more harm than good,) we are presented with long extracts from the different Agricultural Reports, and the writings of M. Marshall, and thus know fully what is done in the different counties, but not what we ought to do in our own particular circumstances. It appears to us that very gross errors have been committed in the plan and arrangement of every attempt at a system of agriculture with which we are acquainted: but as we shall soon have occasion to attend to a work on this important art, that has higher claims than the present one, to originality at least,

leaſt, we ſhall reſerve our obſervations on this ſubject till it appears before us.

As inſtances that the number of pages taken up with the conſideration of different plants bears no proportion to their comparative importance and utility, we may mention that Oats occupy about 7 pages, Barley about 13, Peaſe and Beans 11,—all plants ſuitable to moſt ſoils and ſituations, and the concern, in ſome degree, of every farmer; while the comparatively unmanageable and unprofitable roots, Carrots, Parſnips, and the Turnip-rooted Cabbage (not the Swediſh turnip), occupy, reſpectively, 16, 7, and 9 pages: but, on theſe latter plants, the Bath Society Papers, Annals of Agriculture, &c. offered a ready and ample ſupply of information, ſuch as it is.

If we were to judge only from the ſize of theſe volumes, we ſhould expect them to contain nearly all the accurate and uſeful information that could be collected on the ſubject of agriculture. We do not mean to aſſert that they will be entirely uſeleſs to the farmer; but we are decidedly of opinion, that, if the proprietor of the Encyclopædia Britannica did not think proper that they ſhould contain a well digeſted, though imperfect, ſyſtem of agriculture, he might at leaſt have prevented their bulk, and conſequently their price, from having been unneceſſarily increaſed by the introduction of extraneous matter. Thirty pages are taken up with an account of the Improvement of the Moſs of Kincardine: this ſubject may perhaps appear to ſome properly introduced; we acknowledge it is curious and important, but it certainly has no buſineſs in a work that undertakes, in 2 vols. 8vo, to arrange ſyſtematically the principles and practice of agriculture, and which, while it devotes 30 pages to an operation that can ſeldom be requiſite or practicable, treats in ſuch a looſe, immethodical, and imperfect manner, thoſe operations in which every farmer is intereſted.

The firſt and higheſt duty of a compiler is certainly to ſelect ſuch works as can moſt be depended upon for the accuracy of their information: in an agricultural compilation this is particularly and abſolutely neceſſary: there is more quackery, more looſe experiment, and more danger from them in agriculture than in any other art. Mr. Forſyth ſhould have known and guarded againſt this, inſtead of uſing his endeavour to diſſeminate more widely all the crude conjecture and random experiments with which moſt of our works on agriculture are filled: and the proprietor of the Encyclopædia Britannica ought to have withheld this ſpecimen of his 4th edition, out of regard to his own intereſt in that work.

ART. LVIII. *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone: to which is added, An Account of the present State of Medicine among them. By Thomas Winterbottom, M.D. Physician to the Colony of Sierra Leone.*

*(Continued from page 313.)*

THE second volume of Dr. Winterbottom's interesting work is wholly devoted to medical subjects. We cannot expect that an equal degree of importance can be attached to this department: it is true that specifics may accidentally be discovered, as the Peruvian bark is said to have been, by the most uncultivated nations; but a volume occupied by descriptions of the empirical or magical remedies of an ignorant people, must be in general little calculated to inform a rational practitioner.

The endemic fever prevalent at Sierra Leone is a remittent, probably similar to the remittent fever of Bengal: Dr. Winterbottom asserts, that it is by no means identical with the yellow fever of America, and that there can be little or no foundation for Dr. Chisholm's opinion that this fever was "introduced into the West Indies from Bullom, on the coast of Africa." The natives use, in fevers, several vegetable infusions and fruits, among which is the pine-apple, for cleansing the mouth and fauces; for the head-ache, they apply sometimes heating and sometimes cooling plants to the forehead; if these fail of giving relief, the old women perform the operation of cupping, by means of a knife and a small gourd. They are little subject to intermittents; their mode of treating them is to excite a profuse perspiration, in a kind of vapour bath. Their intermittents are scarcely ever followed by enlarged spleens, although the Europeans in Africa are extremely subject to this disorder. The author is decidedly of opinion, that the use of bark rather tends to prevent than to occasion this enlargement, which is the joint effect of a neglected intermittent and an intemperate mode of life. He has seldom found it benefited by mercurial medicines; cathartic salts and bitter tonics he considers as the best mode of relieving it. For anasarcous swellings of the legs, which sometimes succeed to fevers, the natives employ fomentations with decoctions of several plants. Mania appears to be unknown among them: idiotism sometimes happens to those who are liable to epilepsy. The Foolas are frequently infested by the tapeworm, especially the slaves, and those who are ill fed and live principally on milk. The most celebrated vermifuge is the bark of a tree called by the Timmanees argól. The Africans, especially in the interior parts

parts, are very ſubject to a peculiar kind of lethargy, which begins with an increaſe of appetite and a diſpoſition to grow fat; after a ſhort time the appetite declines, and the patient waſtes away: the propenſity to ſleep can ſcarcely be overcome even by the whip, and hardly leaves the unfortunate victim time enough for taking food. Sometimes the glands of the neck are obſerved to ſwell a little before the commencement of the diſeaſe; a circumſtance which is narrowly watched by dealers in ſlaves. This lethargy appears to be totally incurable: in incipient caſes, the vapour-bath is ſometimes adminiſtered by the natives. Would it not be worth while for an European practitioner to try the effect of mercurial medicines in ſo formidable a diſorder?

For ſyphilitic affections the African phyſicians affect to have many remedies, but the only efficacious medicine that they really poſſeſs is the mercury which they obtain from the Europeans, and this they give in all caſes. Gonorrhœa they cure principally by cathartics and emetics, as well as by other methods employed in Europe. The coup de ſoleil is unknown in Africa, perhaps from the great uniformity of the heat and the general hazineſs of the unclouded ſky. The acrid and poiſonous juice of the milk-tree is ſometimes uſed for the tooth-ache, to which the Foolas are very liable from the habit of rubbing their teeth too frequently. The dyſentery is not uncommon among the Africans; and it is the moſt formidable enemy that the ſlave ſhips have to encounter. The natives of the Gold Coaſt give lime-juice and capſicum, both as a draught and by way of enema. But the moſt powerful African remedy for the dyſentery is the bark of the bellenda, which has been employed with conſiderable ſucceſs in this country. The leaves of the nauclea ſambucina are ſaid alſo to be very ſerviceable in diarrhœa.

A copious deſcription is given, in the fourth chapter, of the elephantiaſis, a diſeaſe very prevalent in hot countries, yet by no means confined to them, ſince that ſpecies which is denominated leproſy is ſaid to have been brought into Europe by thoſe who returned from the cruſades in the "ninth" (perhaps 11th) century, and that there were in Chriſtendom 19,000 hoſpitals for lepers at that time, to 2,000 of which, ſituated in a part of France only, Louis VIII, in 1227, bequeathed legacies. This, if true, is the more remarkable, as it does not appear to be at all well aſcertained that elephantiaſis is a contagious diſeaſe: the precautions taken in many countries indicate a ſtrong perſuaſion of its infectiouſneſs, and yet a man is frequently a victim to it while his wife and children eſcape. In the caſes which the author ſaw, the principal ſymptoms were ſeveral blotches of the ſkin, of a copper colour, ſo inſenſible that

that a pin might be paſſed through them: in more advanced ſtages ulcerations took place, and the fingers, and even the hands and feet, frequently ſloughed off. Dr. Winterbottom could only recommend to one of his patients a little antimonial wine and ſulphur, which ſeemed to be of ſome uſe to him: if he could have ſuperintended him more cloſely, he would have given arſenic, and perhaps corroſive ſublimate. The Hindoos are ſaid to cure the diſorder by giving, twice a day, a pill as large as a tare, compoſed of arſenic with ſix times its weight of pepper. The ſwelled leg of Barbadoes has no reſemblance whatever to the true elephantiaſis; of which a poor and at the ſame time a ſalt and ſtimulant diet appears to be a ſtrong prediſpoſing cauſe.

The author has given a copious and intereſting account of the Guinea worm; but he ſeems to entertain the miſtaken idea of its identity with the Gordius found in lakes, and formerly denominated Seta paluſtris. The lateſt naturaliſts have referred the Guinea worm to the genus Filaria, totally diſtinct from the Gordius. With reſpect to its origin, he is diſpoſed to think that it is derived from bad water, yet not without ſtating many difficulties attending the ſuppoſition. May it not however be conjectured, that the ſcarcity of water may ſo far favour its appearance, as it leſſens the facility of frequent ablutions? We have ourſelves had an opportunity of obſerving the extreme minuteneſs of the ova of ſome of the inteſtinal vermes, many thouſands of them together being inferior in bulk to the head of a pin: and this is perhaps the only fact that is known with certainty reſpecting them. Dr. Bancroft is quoted as mentioning a worm nearly like a bean, which ſometimes inſinuates itſelf into the feet and ancles, and leaves, when removed, an ill-conditioned ulcer. The extraction of the Gordius appears to be facilitated by exerciſe: it remains ſometimes for months wholly unobſerved, hence it may be difficult to aſcertain with certainty the date of the infection. In Mr. Bruce's caſe it remained five months before it was obſerved; after it appeared, the affection continued ſtationary for a month, a ſerous fluid being diſcharged from the orifice; in extraction it was broken, and the pain and inflammation continued for fifty-eight days. A caſe is alſo related, from the Medical Commentaries of Edinburgh, in which great irritation of the whole ſyſtem was produced at the time that the worm changed its poſition. The Chigre, or Pulex penetrans, does not appear to have been obſerved in Africa: Dr. Winterbottom, perhaps, mentions it in order to introduce Ligon's deſcription of the inconveniences that it produces, from which he was himſelf

relieved

relieved by the chirurgical aſſiſtance of the unfortunate and now well-known Yarico.

Sarcomatous ſwellings of the ſcrotum, and enlargements of the legs, like the Cochin-legs of the Eaſt Indies, are attributed by the natives to an exceſs of palm wine; but the author is more diſpoſed to impute them to the badneſs of the water. With the gout they appear to be wholly unacquainted: but they are often attacked by rheumatiſm. Conſumption is not frequent, but it ſometimes appears in the towns, and it is eſteemed incurable. Coughs are uſually alleviated by various emetic medicines. Blindneſs ſeldom if ever occurs except from great age. In the ſmall pox they open all the puſtules and waſh them with tepid water, to avoid marks; the regimen and diet are moderately cooling.

From the copious account which is given of the yaws, it appears that the diſeaſe muſt be claſſed as one of the exanthemata, produced by the application of contagious matter only to a wound or ſcratch of any kind: in the Weſt Indies the infection is often carried from the puſtules by a fly; and the moſt uſual ſore to which it is applied is that which has originated from the whip. The puſtules are of two kinds, either reſembling thoſe of the ſmall pox, or in the ſhape of fungous exreſcences like mulberries: the eruption is preceded by fever, with pains in the limbs, and eſpecially in the joints, which are much increaſed by heat. There are uſually ſucceſſive crops of puſtules, continuing till nature overpowers the diſeaſe: one of the puſtules uſually becomes larger than the reſt, and ulcerates; this is called the maſter yaw. The ſame perſon is never twice infected. This alone is ſufficient to diſtinguiſh the diſeaſe from ſyphilis, as well as from the ſibbens of the Scotch: the yaws are alſo readily communicable to quadrupeds and fowls. It is ſaid that on the Gold Coaſt this diſeaſe is communicated to children by inoculation. In the beginning mercurials are injurious, and nothing can be done but to ſupport the patient's ſtrength: when the diſeaſe has become ſtationary, corroſive ſublimate, with the decoction of the woods, appears to have been of ſervice. Dr. Chiſholm ſays, that the hot vapour of the manchineel apple is an effectual remedy for the crab yaws which infeſt the ſoles of the feet.

In incipient herpes the flowers of the caſſia alata have been found to make an uſeful poultice; but, in obſtinate caſes, ſtronger medicines are required. The author rejects the opinion of thoſe who refer the caſe of the white negroes to the diſeaſe of leproſy, or to any kind of cachexia, becauſe their general health is perfectly good; and weakneſs of the eyes,

together with a harſhneſs and dryneſs of the ſkin, is the only inconvenience which they ſuffer.

There are many ſpecies of poiſonous ſerpents in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone: when the natives have been bitten, they adopt the ancient practice of making a ligature round the part, ſucking out the poiſon, ſcarifying the wound, and dreſſing it with an ointment containing ſeveral vegetable ſubſtances. They have alſo ſome ſcorpions, of which the bite is rarely fatal; that of the aranea avicularia ſometimes occaſions very excruciating pain of the limb affected, with continued rigors and faintneſs of the whole ſyſtem. The wound of the ſting ray is alſo followed by ſimilar ſymptoms, which the author found to yield after ſome time to fomentations, opium, and camphor. Of thoſe nations which by the uſe of a ſpecies of ariſtolochia, or by ſome other means, are enabled to handle with ſafety the moſt poiſonous of the ſerpents, he ſpeaks only from the accounts of former writers.

Ulcerations are generally treated in Africa with ſtimulant and aſtringent ointments, prepared from various vegetables: ſometimes with poultices analogous to the pulp of roaſted oranges, which have been recommended by Dr. Wright, and to the poultices of woodſorrel, and of the roots of meadow-ſweet, employed ſucceſſively by the poor in Ireland. Hæmorrhages are ſtopped by the application of boiling wax or pitch. Simple fractures are very ſucceſsfully managed, but the treatment of compound fractures exceeds the ſkill of the natives. They have a prejudice reſpecting the medical powers of twins, ſimilar to that which has ſometimes been entertained in England with regard to ſeventh ſons.

The women of Africa have in general better health than the men, from their greater temperance and more regular exerciſe. At the time of the catamenia they are wholly ſecluded from the men, and in ſome parts are diſtinguiſhed by a ſtreak of paint on one ſide of their faces. Their labours are uſually very eaſy: when difficulties occur, they receive little or no aſſiſtance from art. Their confinement continues ſometimes only two days, ſometimes ſeven. The author is diſpoſed to attribute the pendulous breaſts which are ſo frequent, to the quantity of milk which they ſuffer to accumulate before the child is allowed to ſuck. The locked jaw, by which ſo many children periſh in the Weſt Indies, is unknown in Africa. Children are uſually ſuckled, according to the precept of the Koran, for two years. They are often prone to dirt eating, a habit of which their mothers attempt to cure them by mixing with earth ſuch ſubſtances as are moſt likely to diſguſt them.

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This appetite, when indulged, is often found to produce, in the Weſt Indies, a total diſcolouration of the ſkin, a cachectic habit, and ſymptoms of dropſy; aceſcent liquors and tonic medicines have been found the beſt remedies for it.

In an appendix Dr. Winterbottom gives a hiſtory and deſcription of the practice of circumciſion, which is very general among males in the greater part of Africa, and in ſome caſes prevails among the females. It is uſually performed about the time that the perſon becomes marriageable. Some caſes are related in which the bellenda bark was adminiſtered, by the author and Dr. Willan, in intermittents, with complete ſucceſs, and it promiſes to be a cheap and uſeful ſubſtitute for the Peruvian bark, of which it appears to have the advantage in its greater aſtringent powers. The remainder of the appendix is occupied by ſome obſervations in anſwer to Mr. White's Eſſay on "The Regular Gradation of Man," and ſome remarks of Profeſſor Blumenbach on the conformation and talents of negroes. Dr. Winterbottom has ſhown that many of Mr. White's inferences are wholly unfounded, but his objections to others betray too much of the ſpirit of controverſy. With reſpect to the power of ſupporting heat, poſſeſſed by Europeans as well as Africans, our author obſerves, (p. 261.)

"Even the greateſt degrees of natural heat hitherto felt, when accompanied with a dry ſtate of the atmoſphere, produce ſcarcely any other effect upon Europeans than that of increaſing the irritability of the body; nor has any climate been yet diſcovered too hot for their conſtitution. A friend of mine, who reſided ſome years in New South Wales, aſſured me, that at a time when the thermometer of Fahrenheit ſtood at 112° in the ſhade, he was able to uſe exerciſe in the ſun without much inconvenience, though the parroquets dropped down dead from the exceſſive heat."

The obſervations from Profeſſor Blumenbach are nearly of the ſame tendency as Dr. Winterbottom's remarks on Mr. White's work, alleging many inſtances of merit of various kind which has been found in Africans: the moſt remarkable are thoſe of Dr. Amo, who took a degree in philoſophy at Wittenberg in 1734, and M. Liſlet, a correſpondent of the Pariſian academy of ſciences, in the iſle of France.

We have found reaſon to regret in ſeveral inſtances that Dr. Winterbottom has not extended his botanical ſtudies ſo far as to be able to aſcertain the characters of the plants which he mentions, in ſuch a manner as to give any idea of their nature to an European: this deficiency, he tells us, will be ſupplied when Dr. Afzelius ſhall publiſh his elaborate work on the natural hiſtory of Sierra Leone. On the whole, however, we

muſt allow Dr. Winterbottom the merit of having collected a much greater maſs of information, both from oral evidence and from other writers, than is too frequently found in modern works on medical ſubjects.

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ART. LIX. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland to the North Cape. By Joſeph Acerbi.* 2 Vols. 4to. pp. 776, with 17 Plates. Price 3l. 3s. Mawman, London. 1802.

THE relations of travellers may be conſidered as forming one of the moſt amuſing and moſt univerſally pleaſing ſpecies of general reading. Every claſs of people enjoy, with much delight, the narrative of faſhions and modes of life different from their own, and intereſt themſelves in the pleaſures or dangers of thoſe who contribute ſo eſſentially to their amuſement. To the moral philoſopher the narration of the traveller affords data on which to build his fine-ſpun theories of human improvement. The natural philoſopher, on the other hand, finds in theſe hiſtories many hints relating to natural hiſtory, or to the arts, which, on account of their frequent occurrence, are paſſed over in the writings of the natives.

The traveller, therefore, who gives to the world a relation of his journey, and more eſpecially of one made to a country which is but ſeldom viſited, is almoſt ſure of a gracious reception from the public; and it is entirely the fault of Mr. Acerbi himſelf that he has not been received by them with that applauſe which his travels through a part of Europe ſo little known ſeem to demand. Not only in England have his travels been ill received, but they have been ſeverely handled in Sweden by his fellow traveller, Colonel Skjöldebrand, and in Germany by Mr. Rühs, in his *Briefe über Schweden und Schwedens Neueſte Verhaeltniſſe*. We need not wonder at this oppoſition, ſince the ſlighteſt inſpection of the work is ſufficient to ſhow the extreme vanity and frivolity of the author (which are ſo great as to abſorb every conſideration of propriety), and alſo the crooked turn of his political and religious creed, which is perpetually at variance with truth, and leads him into numerous errors and contradictions.

With what view Mr. Acerbi was led to travel into Sweden, he has not deigned to inform his readers. If we may judge of men by their actions, it ſeems to have been for the ſole purpoſe of ſeeking objects of abuſe, that he might be enabled to rail againſt the government, literary men, clergy, and even the country in general.

As if conſcious of this bias in his mind, he commences his work with endeavouring to prove that the natives of any country are not to be believed in their accounts of it, or in their criticiſms on foreign travellers who may attempt to deſcribe it. Such an opening undoubtedly rouſes ſuſpicions, which his ſubſequent conduct ſhows to be well grounded.—Before we have any account even of his entrance into Sweden, he indulges himſelf in a violent declamation againſt the inconveniencies of travelling in that country. The roads, he is obliged to confeſs, are excellent, and will "bear being mentioned with thoſe of England," but, alas! there are no ſtage coaches at every hour of the night and day. Mr. Acerbi, before he had brought this heavy charge againſt the Swedes, ſhould have told us the number of paſſengers requiring this conveyance. Or did he expect, becauſe he and his companion were foreigners, that the whole economy of the kingdom was to be altered for their accommodation. Again, the horſes are ſmall; but, as Mr. Acerbi pretends to be a naturaliſt, he might ſurely have recollected that ſo cold a climate muſt needs be uncongenial to an animal whoſe native habitation is in dry and hot plains. Even theſe uſeful animals cannot eſcape the indiſcriminate ill humour of the Italian traveller, who whines moſt piteouſly becauſe they did not underſtand his language. He is equally diſſatisfied with the accommodations, and even with the regulations for ſecuring the good behaviour of the poſt-boys: in a word, he ſeems to have entered the kingdom under a moſt malevolent aſpect of the ſtars, and appears rather in the light of a tranſported felon arriving at his place of deſtination, diſſatisfied with all around him, and viewing every object with jaundiced eyes, than a traveller voluntarily entering an unknown country for information, amuſement, or even buſineſs.

After Mr. Acerbi has thus ſufficiently betrayed the manner in which he means to pourtray the countries through which he paſſes, he immediately diſcovers another ſtriking feature in his character, which conſiſts in a moſt ridiculous aptitude to liſten to any old goſſip's tale, and to retail the chimney-politics of a country ale-houſe, as profound obſervations on men and manners.

"Before you come to Gothenburg you paſs through Warberg, a ſmall village with a fortreſs, ſituated on the edge of the ſea.—Here the Swediſh government confined the famous General Peckling, ſuſpected of being an accomplice in the murder of Guſtavus III. This man was of the party in oppoſition to the king in 1756, being at that time in the pay of Ruſſia. In 1762, when he had become a penſioner of France, he was on the ſide of the court.—

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In 1772, when having the rank of colonel in the army, he betrayed an intention to excite his regiment to mutiny; but he was arrested at Enköping, conducted to Stockholm, and after the death of Guſtavus ſhut up in the fortreſs of Warberg. During his confinement at this place, as he had not been convicted of any crime, though ſuſpected, he was in the full enjoyment of all his wealth and income; and, whether from malignity, rage, or madneſs, he one day formed a reſolution to execute a ſtratagem for raiſing a famine in the little town of Warberg. He gave orders early in the morning for buying up all the proviſions in the market-place, and bringing them forthwith to him. It was a matter of ſatisfaction and pleaſure to him to think that all the inhabitants of the town would be pinched with hunger, while he himſelf poſſeſſed the utmoſt abundance; and that in this manner, the beſiegers being reduced to famine by the beſieged, the uſual operations of warfare would be completely reverſed. The act of extravagance was not more afflicting to the citizens of Warberg than it was acceptable to the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon, and the priſoners confined beſides himſelf in the caſtle. This anecdote, which is in perfect conformity with the character of Peckling, who united with excellent talents a conſiderable ſhare of eccentricity, though told by every body at Warberg, I have not ſeen in any public prints or books of travels." (I. p. 12.)

In a note to this ridiculous tale, he ſays,

"According to the author of the Life of Catherine II. and the Travels of two Frenchmen, he was taken to Gripſholm, and confined in the caſtle which ſerved formerly as a priſon for Eric XIV. This, however, is a miſtake. The caſtle of Gripſholm is at preſent utterly uninhabitable, having neither roof nor caſements."

Nothing can be more unfortunate than this outſet. After having ſhown his credulity in liſtening to, and his folly in repeating ſuch idle tales, the very firſt article of what we may call actual intelligence with which we are favoured by Mr. Acerbi is, as we are aſſured by Colonel Skjöldebrand, poſitively falſe. The caſtle of Gripſholm, inſtead of being untenantable, and without roof or caſements, was actually at that very time the favourite reſidence of the king of Sweden, who beſtowed much pains on embelliſhing it.

Gottenburg is the firſt town mentioned by Mr. Acerbi; but he leaves his readers to gueſs how he got there: we muſt, however, do him the juſtice to ſay, that his account of that town is not amiſs, and we frequently regret he had not been oftener induced to deſcribe the other towns of the kingdom in the ſame manner. In going from thence to Stockholm, Mr. Acerbi viſited the royal ſtables at Strömſholm, and notices the Scandinavian practice of flooring the ſtalls for the horſes with perforated boards, on which they lie, without any litter: on the practice

practice he beſtows much praiſe; more indeed, in our opinion, than the practice in itſelf merits. The author (who ſeems to think himſelf qualified to judge on every thing) then favours the world with his opinion of the Swediſh huſbandry, in which, however, he only betrays the ſmall extent of his knowledge in that uſeful art.

A particular account of Stockholm ſeems to have been intended by Mr. Acerbi; but his account of that city is ſo confuſed that little can be made of it. It appears, however, from ſeveral expreſſions, (ſuch as "Skippiſholmen, or the iſland of Ships, *called in the map* Admiralſtateſholmen," and the like) that Mr. A. originally meant to have elucidated this deſcription by a map, but no ſuch thing is to be found. Of the author's knowledge in Swediſh hiſtory the following extract is a ſufficient example:

"It was here that the faction of the Hats, which was in favour of king Albrecht, in 1389, committed the horrid cruelty of burning alive two hundred Swedes. The party in oppoſition to the Hats, as is well known, were the Caps; becauſe they wore this article of dreſs, which was conſidered as the patriotic diſtinction of the nation." (1. p. 36.)

Here Mr. Acerbi confounds the different factions of nearly four centuries, as that of the Hats and Caps did not commence before 1738.

In his account of the amuſements of the capital the author is equally erroneous, for he informs us that "boat-races, or what they call *regatta*, ſerve as a temporary diverſion."—The Swediſh critics, however, aſſure us that this amuſement is not known there, and the name is well known to be Italian. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a native of the ſouth of Europe would be pleaſed with the habitual modeſty of the northern ladies; accordingly Mr. Acerbi gives a very unfavourable idea of the Swediſh females, although he is obliged to confeſs that they are in general handſome and well educated. He alſo complains much of "their ſinging, and playing more for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing, by the eaſe of their execution, than for that of giving delight by their expreſſion." This, we fear, is a reproach, which, as he obſerves, is applicable to the preſent mode of playing in moſt parts of Europe.

Meaſuring every thing by the prejudices of his own nation, Mr. Acerbi is equally diſſatisfied with the Swediſh mode of entertaining company. We can ſcarcely believe that at entertainments three kinds of bread are ſerved, viz. rye bread, (ſuch as is uſed by the peaſantry) common bread, and brown bread, which "has a ſweet taſte, being made with the water with

with which the veſſels in the ſugar-houſes are waſhed, and is the naſtieſt thing poſſible." The following anecdote alſo is far beyond the limits of our credulity:

"I have already noticed the extreme paſſion of the Swedes for cards, an amuſement too faſcinating in all countries, but which in Sweden, eſpecially among the higher orders, ſeems to abſorb every power and faculty of the ſoul. The following anecdote may ſerve to illuſtrate it in a ſtriking manner: A nobleman of great rank having waited longer than uſual for his dinner, and ſeeing that no preparation was made for it, went down to call his ſervants to an account, and to examine into the reaſon of the delay. He found his houſhold, in imitation of their ſuperiors, deeply engaged at cards. They excuſed themſelves to their maſter by telling him that they were at the moſt intereſting point of the game; and the butler, who had the greateſt ſtake, took the liberty of explaining the caſe to his excellency, who could not in conſcience but approve his reaſons. However, being unwilling to wait for his dinner till the game was decided, he ſent the butler to lay the cloth, while he himſelf ſat down with the other ſervants, and managed the intereſt of that individual in his abſence." (I. p. 69.)

The politics of Mr. Acerbi now begin to diſplay themſelves without that diſguiſe under which they have hitherto been concealed. Although the Italians, generally ſpeaking, can have little reaſon to be pleaſed with the French, yet we find that the author is blindly devoted to the intereſts of that nation; and we ſtrongly ſuſpect that both himſelf and his fellow traveller, whom he ſcarcely ever mentions, were, in fact, private agents of France.

Guſtavus III. having openly declared againſt the French revolution, and having intended to carry his arms into France, was at firſt calumniated, and, at length, murdered, by the partiſans of the republic. It is perfectly amuſing to obſerve the evident embarraſſment of Acerbi, between his deſire of abuſing that monarch, and the impoſſibility of denying that he had greatly improved the ſtate of Sweden. At one time he accuſes him of having increaſed the etiquette of the court; although, even if the accuſation were true, (which it certainly is not,) he would have been juſtified in the eyes of all, except the moſt violent republicans, by the circumſtances of the times; ſo little conſiſtent, however, is Mr. Acerbi in his ſtrictures, that he himſelf informs us, after the lapſe of only a few pages, that "there is no country where the king and princes mix more familiarly with the people than in Sweden." (i. 74.) The author then, in the fury of his democratic rage, pretends to dive into the ſecrets of his majeſty's heart; and, after informing us, that "he ſought to be ſurrounded with the

ſplendour of literature and the arts, and ſtudied in all things to appear a great and munificent king (i. 85), ſays, "he inſtituted ſocieties, and patroniſed learning and ſcience; but all this did not flow from *a pure deſire to promote theſe great intereſts of the human ſpecies.* (*ibid.*) His proof of this is curious; viz. "As for the ſciences, Guſtavus III. was ſo far from affording them any ſubſtantial ſupport, that, on the contrary, he treated them with neglect, if not contempt. The *magnificent* collection of natural hiſtory made by Linnæus was permitted to be bought by an Engliſhman, and carried to England. Many of the manuſcripts of the *incomparable* Bergmann, for want of encouragement in Sweden, were diſpoſed of, and printed in Germany." Nothing can be more abſurd than this declaration. Of the *magnificence* of the Linnæan collection, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; it is only neceſſary here to obſerve, that if we are correctly informed, it was ſmuggled out of the kingdom, and the Swediſh government even ſent a ſhip in purſuit of the veſſel on board of which it was embarked. To bring the publication of Bergmann's Eſſays in Germany as a charge againſt the king of Sweden, muſt, to every unprejudiced mind, only ſhow the difficulty of finding any real faults in his Majeſty.

But the inconſiſtency of modern patriotiſm is no where ſo conſpicuous as in the following paſſage, in which Mr. Acerbi deplores the decline of foreign influence on the Swediſh councils during the reign of Guſtavus III.

"The nobles are now no longer actuated by their former ſpirit of emulation, and a deſire to excel as leading men in the ſenate. Eloquence, with all that variety of knowledge and information which is neceſſary to the formation of a good orator, is no longer of any importance to them. Application to the ſtudy of general knowledge and the improvement of the mind, is ſuſpended by the conſtitution of 1772; and ſo long as that conſtitution laſts it is probable that we ſhall not hear of any great characters among the nobles of Sweden. *The ancient ſenate, it is true, was corrupt, venal, and ever ready to ſell itſelf to the higheſt bidder;* but ſtill, even in that very diſpoſition to venality was contained an incentive to the acquirement of qualities and accompliſhments that might lead to diſtinction. *France and Ruſſia purchaſed the men of abilities in the ſenate* at no ſmall price; the others were overlooked and diſregarded." (I. 88.)

Surely none but the moſt ignorant partiſan of the French republic, who was led on hoodwinked by the magic ſound of the word liberty, could have written ſo abſurd a paragraph. The ſame inconſiſtency appears in the character Mr. Acerbi gives of the Duke of Sudermania, who, in conſequence of his

being attached to France, is highly praiſed for his good ſenſe; although, in the ſequel, we find that this *very ſenſible* prince was a firm believer in Meſmeriſm, or animal Magnetiſm, and was the dupe of a number of artful impoſtors. The preſent king has the good fortune, as we muſt eſteem it, of being abuſed by the author on account of his regard for religion, and his abhorrence of "the new philoſophy."

From the court, Mr. Acerbi paſſes to the academies; and, after a variety of the moſt common place remarks reſpecting the influence of learning on a nation, obtrudes upon the public much abuſe of the Swediſh literati. We learn, however, from the Swediſh criticiſms upon this part of his work, that the author has betrayed the groſſeſt ignorance on the ſubject; and has enumerated perſons as belonging to theſe academies, who were dead long before he viſited Sweden. Not ſatisfied with this anachroniſm, he has preſumed to dictate on matters of which he was totally ignorant: although he ſcarcely underſtands a word of Swediſh, he pretends to criticiſe the productions of the moſt eſteemed authors in that language, and to inſtitute compariſons between ſome of the Swediſh and of the Engliſh poets, of which, it is probable, he is as ignorant. With how little conſiſtency this part of the work is executed we may judge by his cenſure of the Academy of *Sciences*, becauſe they have not formed a claſs for moral philoſophy! We have no evidence that moral philoſophy is in vogue in Italy, yet he ſays, "I do not recollect an inſtance of ſuch glaring neglect of *the moſt important* branch of philoſophy, except one, namely, that in a famous univerſity of England, the Schola philoſophiæ moralis is appropriated to the ſole purpoſe of lodging the Arundelian marbles, and other ſculptures and ſtatutes." (I. 115.) This cenſure of the Univerſity of Oxford, and of the Swediſh Academy of Sciences, is extended by Mr. Acerbi elſewhere, (i. 145,) to "all catholic, Lutheran, or, in other words, to many *epiſcopal* univerſities," but ſurely with little juſtice. What is here meant by moral philoſophy, is, like other parts of metaphyſics, only the pacing of a trained horſe in the manege, without the leaſt benefit in practice; for that uſe which might ariſe from their ſharpening the judgment, is far better ſought in mathematics; ſince theſe laſt are capable of being made the foundation of much practical utility. Yet Mr. Acerbi, in his account of the univerſity of Upſala, expreſsly notices the attention paid to moral philoſophy.

"In the catalogue of their lectures at Upſala for 1795, I noticed that Mr. Hoijer undertook to unfold the principles of moral obligation—fundamenta philoſophiæ morum exponere conabitur. In the ſame catalogue Daniel Boethius, profeſſor of ethics and politics engage

engages to explain the fundamental principles of moral philoſophy, and to give a philoſophical account of moral ſentiments. The attention that is paid to moral philoſophy, and in general to pſychology, in the univerſity of Upſala, will not appear leſs manifeſt from an advertiſement by the aſſiſtant profeſſor of moral philoſophy Mr. Steinhammer, who intimates that he means to aſſume for the theme of his lectures, the hiſtory of man. Nothing can be more profound than on the ſubject of ethics to take a general view of the ſentiments, paſſions, and principles of mankind, as unfolded and diſplayed in hiſtory, the great theatre of diſſection in moral anatomy." (I. 153.)

It will, we think, be needleſs to ſay any more on Mr. Acerbi's conſiſtency. From the ſciences he paſſes to the polite arts, and dilates upon them with the natural prejudices of an Italian. At length the author and his companion departed from Stockholm, in company with Colonel Skjöldebrand, an amateur in landſcape painting, who was going to Lapland, to pourtray the romantic ſcenery of that country. They paſſed on the ice over the Gulf of Bothnia, and Mr. Acerbi gives a very amuſing account of their paſſage. In the enumeration Mr. Acerbi has made of the natural productions of Aland, the following is a ſingular inſtance of imperfect information.

"The inſects found in Aland amount to the number of betwixt ſeven and eight hundred different ſpecies: among theſe we ſhall only make mention of one, and that on account of its very deſtructive qualities. You often find trees in great number which have been killed by this ſpecies of inſect; and what is ſtill more diſtreſſing and haraſſing, houſes newly built have been known to fall into decay and ruin in a ſhort time, entirely by the devaſtation of theſe pernicious animals." (I. 202.)

Why did not the author, who profeſſes to be a naturaliſt, tell us the ſcientific name of this deſtructive inſect, or at leaſt favour us with ſome ſlight deſcription of it, that we might be able to recognize it! From Aland, Mr. Acerbi paſſed into Finland; and commences the account of his travels through that country with a deſcription of Abo, and its univerſity. The inconveniences of travelling in theſe inhoſpitable climates, particularly when the ſnow has not fallen in ſufficient quantities, is ſtrikingly narrated by the author. The ſcenery diſplayed in a large foreſt, eighty Engliſh miles in length, through which they paſſed, was diverſified by the diſaſtrous wreck of one of thoſe conflagrations which are ſo frequent in Sweden, and the neighbouring countries; this conflagration had deſtroyed the wood for the extent of ſix or ſeven miles. Although theſe fires ſometimes ariſe from accident, Mr.

Acerbi is of opinion that they are frequently occaſioned by deſign, as the peaſants are allowed to take the trees which have been touched by the flames, without paying for them.

We are not aware of the circumſtances which have occaſioned the author to beſtow a more liberal ſhare of abuſe upon Linnæus than upon the other Swediſh literati, unleſs it be that Mr. Acerbi is irritated that a tramontane philoſopher ſhould attain to any great celebrity in ſcience, and finds his choler riſe in proportion to the fame of the individual he attacks.

"I ſaw at the houſe of the Preſident a very intelligent and converſable clergyman. We had much converſation concerning the Finlanders, eſpecially on the ſubject of their poetry, and he mentioned a variety of intereſting particulars. Speaking of Linnæus, with whom he had been well acquainted at Upſala, he had much to ſay on the character of the Swediſh naturaliſt, and dwelt particularly on the extreme vanity which that great man ſeems to have carried to the moſt diſguſting length. He related to me ſome anecdotes, which gave ſtrong indications of that weakneſs. A lady of the province of Upſala, who had never been beyond its boundaries, applied to a friend of Linnæus for a letter of recommendation, that ſhe might have an opportunity of making the acquaintance of this eminent character, and, at the ſame time, ſee his collection. The philoſopher received her with much politeneſs, and as he was ſhewing her the muſeum, the good lady was ſo filled with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of an aſſemblage of ſuch a number of different objects, upon each of which Linnæus had always ſomething to remark, that ſhe exclaimed with a ſigh, '*I no longer wonder that Linnæus is ſo well known over the whole province of Upſala!*' Linnæus who inſtead *of the province of Upſala*, expected to hear *the whole univerſe*, was ſo ſhocked, that he would ſhew her nothing more of the muſeum, and ſent the lady away quite confounded at the change of his humour, and at the ſame time firmly believing that her high encomium had wounded the feelings of that great philoſopher. One day, being in a melancholy temper, he gave orders that no perſon ſhould be admitted to him, and placed himſelf, in his bed-gown and night-cap, ſad and penſive upon his ſofa. An officer in the Swediſh ſervice arrived with a party of ladies, who had made a journey for the expreſs purpoſe of ſeeing the Linnæan collection. The officer was denied admittance; but being aware of Linnæus's caprice, he would not be refuſed by the ſervant, but puſhed by him, and entered the chamber where Linnæus was ſitting. At firſt ſome indignation was ſhewn at this intruſion; but the officer introduced the ladies with a moſt extravagant panegyric, *to the illuſtrious philoſopher, who was the ſole object of their journey; to the man whom the whole world allowed to be the greateſt; to that man who had put nature herſelf to the rack, in order to diſcover her deareſt ſecrets, &c.* Linnæus's ſurly humour inſtantly forſook him, and he never appeared more amiable in his manners than to this officer, whom he embraced tenderly, calling him his true friend, &c. &c. He was ſo ſingularly enamoured of praiſe, that

that his mind was never in that ſedate ſtate which would have enabled him to diſtinguiſh true commendation from flattery and deception. The clergyman, who at firſt could not credit ſuch reports, was convinced of their reality by one of his friends, who compoſed ſo ridiculous an eulogy for Linnæus, that the weakeſt child might have treated it as a farce or ſatire: it was worded in the bombaſt of the middle ages, or in the Aſiatic ſtyle: he called him the ſun of botaniſts; the Jupiter of the literati; the ſecretary of nature; an ocean of ſcience; a moving mountain of erudition; and other appellations to the ſame effect. Linnæus, far from feeling diſpleaſure at ſuch exceſſive and ridiculous compliments, interrupted the panegyriſt at each phraſe, embracing him, and calling him his deareſt friend." (I. 245.)

That Linnæus ever diſplayed ſuch idle vanity as is here deſcribed, we find great difficulty in believing; more eſpecially, as part of it relates to his "muſeum," of which it is almoſt impoſſible he could be vain. In fact, his private collection was but ſmall; and its chief value was its containing authentic ſpecimens of many of the ſpecies mentioned in his works. His knowledge was, indeed, principally derived from the collections of others, which he had been employed to arrange.

[*To be continued.*]

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ART. LX. *An Eſſay on the Impolicy of a Bounty on the Exportation of Grain, and on the Principles which ought to regulate the Commerce of Grain, divided under the following Heads: Of the Hiſtory of the Corn Laws; Influence of the Population on the Corn Trade; Effects of the Bounty on the Rents of Lands; Effects of the Bounty on the Profits of the Farmer; Effects of the Bounty on the Value of Silver; Exportation; Importation; Landlords, Farmers, and Corn Dealers.*

[*Concluded from page* 331.]

2. OUR author diſcovers his uſual inconſiſtency in tracing the ſuppoſed effects of a free trade. According to him, "raiſe corn as faſt as you pleaſe, mouths are producing ſtill faſter to eat it." (p. 24.) But if the money price of labour, and of all commodities, is regulated by the money price of corn, how can any claſs of people get more corn when it is plentiful and cheap, than when it is ſcarce and dear? In both caſes, according to our author's doctrine, the money they get for their labour or their commodities will not command any more or any leſs corn. But without preſſing any further this inconſiſtency, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that the farmer will ſow more

corn than he knows will ſupply the demand, in the expectation that if he raiſe as much more as will keep an additional livingbeing, that being will immediately ſtart into exiſtence. The demand muſt exiſt before the ſupply. As the farmer cannot calculate exactly on the produce of his grounds, a good year may produce an abundant crop, and thus leſſen the price of corn; but a ſingle abundant year occaſionally can have little influence in increaſing population.

As, however, our author ſtrenuouſly maintains that it is "an incontrovertible propoſition, that in every country an adequate demand, and even an urgent demand, is always provided at home for the greateſt poſſible increaſe of the fruits of the earth, and that the very principles of population enſure an ample encouragement to the utmoſt exertions of the farmer," (p. 25.) we ſhall admit, that the farmer is induced to ſow more corn than uſual in the hope of finding a greater demand at home: let us now enquire whether it is probable that this greater demand will be produced in conſequence of the greater ſupply of corn. The opinion of our author reſts on an ignorance of the mode of operation of the principle of population: there are only three modes by which the population of a country can be permanently increaſed;—by the marriages already contracted being rendered more fruitful; by the number of deaths being diminiſhed; and by additional encouragement being given to marriage. We muſt next enquire on what rank of people a greater ſupply of corn can operate in any of theſe modes, ſo as to render them more populous. A greater ſupply of corn cannot diminiſh the deaths or increaſe the births among ſuch as already can command a ſufficiency of it; nor will the certainty of procuring mere food for a family induce the higher or middle ranks to marry. They muſt have the proſpect of procuring for the children a competency of every thing ſuitable to their rank, a proper education, and the means of eſtabliſhing them in life. It may be ſaid, that if corn be plentiful and cheap, money may be ſpared from the purchaſe of it ſufficient to procure the other neceſſaries for a family;—that children require little in any rank but plenty of wholeſome food; and that, if there be a proſpect of getting it cheap, more marriages will be contracted: but, in this country, at leaſt, where more than food is required for children, even in ranks little raiſed above the loweſt, and where the means of ſettling a family in the world are always regarded very ſcrupulouſly, theſe conſiderations would have little weight: beſides, unleſs the ſupply of the other things deemed neceſſary for a family be increaſed as well as corn, the increaſed demand for them, in conſequence of

of the additional families, will raiſe their price, probably as much as the price of corn was diminiſhed, and the proſpect or exiſtence of this riſe will either prevent or check marriages among thoſe who look to more for their children than mere ſubſiſtence.

There are, undoubtedly, in all countries, a claſs of people more or leſs numerous, among whom a greater ſupply of corn will neceſſarily produce a greater population. The greater ſupply, and greater cheapneſs of potatoes in Ireland, even for a ſingle year, will render the married peaſantry, probably, more fruitful, and diminiſh the deaths among that claſs. A cheap year of rice in China or India will probably produce the ſame effects. But very few among the peaſantry of any of theſe countries would be induced to marry, merely becauſe an occaſional cheap year occurred. A cheapneſs, regular and likely to continue, can alone encourage marriages even among thoſe whoſe competency extends merely to ſubſiſtence. In Great Britain, particularly in her manufacturing diſtricts, labourers get much more than will procure them food; and though ſome of them may be induced to marry when proviſions are plentiful, yet many will require the probability of getting ſomething beſide food for a family before they will marry. However cheapneſs of proviſions may operate in general among the manufacturing claſs of labourers in promoting marriage, no perſon acquainted with them can doubt, that marriages are more unfruitful, and deaths more frequent, when proviſions are cheap, unleſs wages are lowered in proportion, and in this caſe it is evident that cheapneſs of proviſions can have no poſſible effect on them. We may therefore conclude, that in a country like this, where the idea of a competency amongſt moſt claſſes embraces much more than bare ſubſiſtence, the increaſe of the means of ſubſiſtence alone cannot increaſe population.

The advocates for a Bounty contend, that if our ports were conſtantly open to the importation of corn, foreign nations would underſell our farmers greatly, and ruin agriculture. This our author denies:

"Corn never can be bought for importation into Great Britain below that ſtandard price, in the market of nations, which is eſtabliſhed by the wants and ſuperfluities of them all; and which, therefore, muſt be the medium price of the nations which come into that market, taken altogether. The medium in ſome of them may be above it, and the medium in others below. Theſe are the two extremes: but in all the reſt it is nearly the ſame. Whatever corn, therefore, is at any time imported into Great Britain, muſt come into it purchaſed at this medium price, and loaded with all the ex-

pence of freight and insurance from the country where it is bought. And corn is an article of so much bulk in proportion to the value, that this expence must always bear a pretty high proportion to the original price. Foreign corn, therefore, can never come into England very cheap; and unless in England the medium price of corn be very much above the medium price in the other countries of Europe, none can ever be imported except in years of particular scarcity. If the medium price in England, therefore, be the same with the standard of the universal market, which there is good reason to think it is, agriculture cannot receive any discouragement from a free importation, even on the principles of the bounty people themselves." (p. 61.)

The whole of this reasoning depends on the suppositions that the medium price in England is the same with the standard in the universal market, and that no corn can ever be imported except in years of particular scarcity. Now, though we admit that superior skill in agriculture, and a home market, give the English farmer great advantages over the importer of foreign corn, yet, we maintain that these are much overbalanced by the real expences attending cultivation here being much greater than in foreign countries, and by its requiring also more money to defray even the same expences, in consequence of its depreciation in this country. Even since the very great demand for corn from the Baltic, both by us and Spain, since the last harvest, wheat has been imported in Great Britain for sixty shillings per quarter, including all expences. As the markets in the Baltic are greatly and almost immediately affected by the alarm of scarcity in this country, little doubt can be entertained, that if no alarm had reached them, the same wheat might have been imported at one third less. And, if the ports of this country were constantly open for foreign grain, the increased demand for it would soon create an increased supply at nearly the former price, as the countries from which we are supplied contain a very great proportion of uncultivated ground, which a regular increased demand would bring into tillage. At present our ports, being sometimes shut and sometimes open, the demand for foreign grain occasions a rise in its price, which would not take place so soon, or nearly to such extent, if they always could depend on our market.

But the author admits the supposition that the medium price in England is very much above the standard of the universal market. If this arise from some peculiar degradation of the value of money in England, he would encourage importation as tending to redress it. By money here he of course means

means the circulating medium; and unleſs the importaton of corn reduced the proportion between the circulating medium and the things to be circulated by it, it could have no effect in remedying the depreciation of money. But not only the circulating medium in this country is depreciated, but the ſame quantity of corn here will procure a greater quantity of bullion, and of moſt of our manufactured goods, than it will procure in moſt foreign countries; and, if two ounces of ſilver or two yards of cotton goods be required here to purchaſe that quantity of corn which can be imported for one ounce and a half of ſilver, or one yard and a half of cotton goods, we may reſt aſſured that the drain cauſed by importation would be fully as much on bullion and on our manufactured goods as on our circulating medium, even if we ſuppoſe it to be entirely of ſpecie. But, as a very great proportion of our circulating medium is of paper, or of ſpecie worn below the ſtandard weight, the conſequence of a free importation, (allowing that it was paid for entirely by the circulating medium, and, unleſs we ſuppoſe this, it can have little effect in remedying the depreciation of money) would be a drain upon our ſpecie, and neceſſarily a depreciation of paper and of our worn coin, with reſpect to ſuch ſpecie as reached the ſtandard weight. As foreigners would not take our paper, and would receive our ſpecie only for ſo much as it weighed, the conſequence we have pointed out would neceſſarily follow: and as the ſtandard ſpecie bears a very ſmall proportion to the worn ſpecie and the paper money, the great demand for the firſt, occaſioned by a free importation, would create a more ſerious evil than can be ſuppoſed to reſult from the high price of corn. The author's remedy, therefore, for the depreciation of our money would either be futile, if the corn imported were paid for by bullion or manufactures, or it would be worſe than the diſeaſe, if it were paid for by our circulating ſpecie.

Although we differ from our author reſpecting the effects of a free importation, we by no means agree with the advocates for a bounty that it would ruin agriculture. If land were not held on leaſe, a free importation would ſcarcely injure the farmer: if he found that in order to meet the market with foreign grain, he muſt ſell his own at 40s. inſtead of 60s. per quarter, and that this price would not afford him nearly ſuch a profit for his capital, labour, and time, as he might get from other employments, he would immediately give up his farm, unleſs his landlord lowered his rent ſo much as to enable him to ſell his corn at 40s. and ſtill obtain his accuſtomed profit. The landlord, if there were no leaſe, would have no remedy; but as moſt land is held in this country by leaſe, the landlord

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is secure of his rent, whatever may be the price of grain, so long as the farmer is worth as much; but as the embarrassment of the farmer, in consequence of the low price of grain, must ultimately affect the landlord, it is his interest to prevent it, if possible. The ultimate and steady consequence of a free importation of grain would be the lowering of rents considerably, perhaps the diminution of the profits of the farmer in a small degree, and little or no alteration in the quantity of grain grown: but before these effects were brought about, much injury might accrue to the agricultural interests of the country from the high rents which the farmers have bound themselves to pay. When the leases were to be renewed, the farmers would shift the evil from themselves to the landholders, as they would expect the average profit of the country from their capital, and the landholders must then submit.

We have thus stated what we conceive would be the consequences of a free importation;—consequences, that result entirely from the wealth and manufacturing improvements of this country. The only mode by which the increase of bullion can be prevented from injuring a nation is by increasing the articles it needs in the same proportion: this, improvements in machinery have enabled us to effect with regard to most of our manufactured goods; and of course, so far from foreign nations being able to undersell us in them, we can undersell them: they are really cheaper now than they were before money was so depreciated. But agriculture does not admit of improvement to the same extent; and therefore a nation in which the real price of bullion is cheap, must be undersold in corn by a nation where it is dear. The landholder, therefore, if importation were free, would not receive rent sufficient to purchase what he could have purchased fifty or sixty years since, except of those articles which, by manufacturing improvements, had increased in proportion to the increase of money; but the manufacturer and commercial man, on the other hand, is much improved in his condition within these fifty or sixty years: of course the free importation of grain would reduce the landed interest far below the manufacturing and commercial interest. Whether this consequence is so alarming as to justify a tax on the community at large, in order to prevent it, we shall not undertake to determine.

3. The argument, from experience, respecting the effects of a bounty, which the author considers in the first place, we have reserved for our examination last. As the quantity of grain produced for an average of years depends on so many different circumstances, it appears to us needless to dwell long on the argument from experience. Independently of the consideration

conſideration of the argument from the probable effects of a bounty, it ſeems to us impoſſible to aſcertain whether the coexiſtence of a bounty, and of an exceſs of the exports above the imports of grain, be a ſufficient proof that the former produced the latter. The author is of opinion that the ſuperior encouragement given to manufactures, at the time the bounty was interrupted, and the exceſs of the exports diminiſhed, is a more probable cauſe of this deficiency than the withdrawing of the bounty. But to attribute the diminution of the exports entirely to the progreſs of manufacturing induſtry, and not at all to the withdrawing of the bounty, is evidently begging the queſtion, and ought not to have been maintained till the "argument from the nature of the caſe" (as the author calls it) had been ſhown to be againſt the beneficial effects of a bounty. Unleſs this be ſhown, it is more rational to attribute the diminution of the exports to the withdrawing of the encouragement held out by the bounty to the growing of corn, as well as to the influence of manufactures. Manufactures evidently operate againſt arable huſbandry in a peculiar manner, as well as againſt agriculture in general. They raiſe the wages of the labouring claſs, and thus induce the farmer to throw his land into grais, as requiring fewer hands than when in tillage; and they alſo create a greater demand for animal food, which is a further inducement to enlarge the quantity of paſture land. Where manufactures flouriſh, therefore, they will draw ſome capital and labour from agriculture; and they will turn a greater proportion than formerly, of what ſtill is employed in it, from corn to paſture. Theſe are powerful cauſes, and if their effects be pernicious, they ſhould be counteracted by an oppoſite cauſe, or by holding out an additional encouragement to tillage: but when they began to operate this additional encouragement was withdrawn, and therefore it ſeems juſt to attribute part of the effect to the withdrawing of the bounty.

We have already declared our opinion, that the argument, from experience, ought not to be depended upon by itſelf by either party. Whether it ſhould be found that a diminiſhed exportation and a high price exiſted along with the bounty, or when the bounty was interrupted, it would be unphiloſophical to conclude that the bounty was the ſole or principal cauſe of either, as we know that the production and the price of corn depend on many cauſes, ſome or all of which might have operated to produce that cheapneſs or dearneſs we attribute to the bounty. We ſhould, therefore, have paſſed entirely over the author's argument from experience, had not he erred in the general ſtatement of his facts, as well as in drawing

drawing his concluſions from them with ſo much confidence. "In the year 1697 the exceſs of the exports above the imports was 101,643 quarters: in the ſame year the general exports from Great Britain, including this corn, were £.3,525,906 official value. In the year 1764, the laſt year of the full operation of the corn bounty, the exceſs of the exports above the imports of corn was 535,528 quarters; and in the ſame year the general exports from Britain amounted to £.17,756,331." (19.) Hence he infers that even during the operation of the bounty "the progreſs of commercial induſtry was many times more rapid than that of agricultural." Did the author examine the proportions in 1697 and 1764? We cannot for a moment ſuppoſe he did; otherwiſe he muſt have ſeen that 535,528, the exceſs of the exports above the imports in 1764, bears a greater proportion to £.17,756,331, the general exports for the ſame year, than 101,643, the exceſs for 1697, bears to £.3,525,906, the general exports for the ſame year: the difference in the proportion is indeed very trifling, but it is ſufficient to contradict his aſſertion that the progreſs of commercial induſtry was many times more rapid than that of agriculture. We have ſeen, then, that during the operation of the bounty agriculture increaſed at leaſt in an equal proportion to commerce; let us now ſee what proportion they bear to each other in 1792, when the exportation of corn was not encouraged. According to the author, the general exports this year amounted to £.24,905,200, while, inſtead of there being any exceſs of the exports above the imports of corn, the imports exceeded the exports 411,819 quarters, which added to 535,528 quarters exported in 1764, makes a difference of 947,347 quarters. So that the general facts may be ſtated thus; while the bounty operated, agricultural induſtry increaſed in the ſame proportion as commercial; but when the bounty was taken off, commerce continued to improve nearly at the ſame rate, while the raiſing of corn greatly declined.

We have thus endeavoured to lay before our readers a conciſe, and, we truſt, an impartial view of this important queſtion. The connection that it bears to ſome opinions that we conceived to be erroneous, reſpecting the price of labour and the principle of population, authorized us, we thought, to examine and to endeavour to refute them, as conciſely as we could; and too conciſely, we are afraid, to be underſtood by thoſe not very converſant in political œconomy, or to convince ſuch as are prejudiced in favour of the commonly received doctrines. We however confidently appeal to a more cloſe examination of our arguments than our limits would permit

us to beſtow; and if they be tried by fact and not by theory, we are not afraid to abide by the reſult.

Our opinion of the pamphlet which has given occaſion to our diſcuſſion, may be ſummed up in a few words. The author has evidently derived his knowledge of political economy rather from books than from obſervation. He rejects with contempt every opinion that does not coincide with what he calls the ſcientific principles of political œconomy; but he never ſeems to have had courage or ability to examine the foundation of his principles. The conſequence is obvious: he defends what is right by arguments that are weak and inconſiſtent; and he attacks what is wrong with weapons that may often be turned againſt himſelf. He ſeems to have been induced to defend a free trade in Corn, rather becauſe he found it defended in Adam Smith, than becauſe he clearly ſaw the conſequences that it would actually produce. What pretenſions ſuch a writer has to make uſe of arrogant and contemptuous language, let our readers determine.

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